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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOLUME III.

October, 1908---July, 1909.

PUBLISHED BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI.

F. A. SAMPSON, Secretary,
EDITOR.

COLUMBIA, MO.
1909.

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MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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NOTES ON THE JONES FAMILY IN MISSOURI.

The Joneses are chiefly of Welsh descent, and they may be found wherever the English language is spoken. We have read of John Paul Jones and his exploits as a naval officer, fighting for the cause of American freedom, on the high seas, during the Revolutionary war. But he really was not named Jones, only John Paul. In Missouri the Jones family has been distinguished for lawyers, doctors and ministers of the gospel and politicians and educators.

John Rice Jones came from Virginia to Indiana and then to Missouri in 1808. He was a member of the Constitutional convention of 1820, then judge of the Supreme Court and died in 1824. He was of Welsh descent. His son, George W. Jones, was United States Senator from the State of Iowa, and his son was my schoolmate at the Western Military Institute at Drennon Springs, Ky, in 1851 and 1852.

Charles Jones came from Virginia to Franklin county. Missouri, and was a leading member of the State Senate. and died in St. Louis in 1876. Breckenridge Jones is a prominent lawyer and banker of St. Louis. The Rev. Isaac Jones. a Presbyterian preacher, dwelt in Columbia for a number of years, notably between 1840 and 1860. His house was on

the east side of Eighth street between Broadway and the old City Hotel. A. H. Jones, a bachelor, living north of Columbia, deserves notice for his generosity in giving $15,000 to the new Y. M. C. A. building.

James Jones was an early settler in Montgomery county, and for many years before the Wabash Railroad came along, his house was the regular stopping place for stages. In the month of January, 1848, I staid one night with Mr. Jones. The house, a log, was standing right in the center of the town of Jonesborough until about 1904, being about 100 yards east of the Wabash Depot and about 200 feet north of the Railroad.

Dr. John Jones resided near Marthasville in Warren county. He took an active part in ferretting out the horse thieves who infested the country prior to 1845, and for this, he was secretly assassinated in 1842. This caused great excitement at the time, and some persons were arrested on suspicion, but nothing could be proven against any one. I was then but a boy, yet I remember hearing of it.

Lewis Jones, was a famous hunter in early times. Once he went so far from home as the Platte, was taken prisoner by the Indians, stripped of all his clothes, given an old gun and turned loose. He started home, and on the way shot a panther, skinned it and put the skin on himself, and traveled in this way for several hundred miles to his home in Montgomery county. The skin being fresh when put on, there was some trouble in cutting it and taking it off.

John Jones, a native of Wales and a sailor, sailed around the world, and between 1890 and 1902 was employed as night watchman on the U. S. snagboat Charles R. Suter. At his leisure he employed himself in weaving cords around chains, canes, bell ropes, &c., and making baskets. His work was pretty and showed science and skill. I have a cane showing his workmanship that he presented to me.

Jefferson F. Jones of Welsh origin came with his parents from Kentucky to Boone county, Mo., in 1824. A few years later he settled in Callaway. He was a successful lawyer and was a leader among the people. He used his influence

in promoting the building of the North Missouri Railroad. He was a member of the Legislatures of 1856 and 1875, and was energetic and faithful to his ideas of his duty. He was a strong sympathizer for the South, and raised a company for the purpose of fighting in the southern cause. In this he was checked by Gen. John B. Henderson, and had to sign articles to relinquish his purpose.

William Claude Jones was a member of the Constitutional convention of 1845, and in 1846 a member of the State Senate from Newton county. In 1849 he was a member of the Board of Curators of the State University. Soon after, he went to California, and died there a few years later. He composed the following song to the air of Lucy Neale:

1. Where the wild Neosho winds and kisses many a flower
The prairie deck'd in beauty smil'd, around the red man's bower;
Joy's mellow voice was there, there love's sweet voice was heard,
And the warrior press'd to his throbbing breast,
The lovely Prairie bird!

Chorus:
Oh the Prairie bird, the lovely Prairie bird
And the warrior press'd to his breast
The lovely Prairie bird!

2. The flow'rs of spring had bloomed, and the warrior sought the plain
Where the Buffalo in grandeur roamed,
In a wild and stately train.
While the warrior's arm did thin many a lordly herd
The wild Comanche bore away his lovely prairie bird.

Chorus: Oh the Prairie bird, &c.

3. In Neosho's flow'ry vale, his wigwam wild was lorn
Where his heart's sweet flow'r--his gem of hope
His prairie bird was gone.

The smile which won his love, each cherished look and word
Rose in the warrior's heart, and he wished to save the prairie bird.

Chorus: Oh the Prairie bird, &c.

John P. Jones came from Massachusetts to Missouri, and was Post Master at Keytesville, Mo., between 1876 and 1890. While living there he made an extensive archaeological collection of flints and stone implements which he disposed of to Central Park, New York. He then turned his attention to early Missouri history. Interesting articles on these subjects may be found in Vols. 4, 5, and 6 of the Kansas City Review of Science and Industry for 1880 and 1883. Sometime about 1890 he went to Southwest Kansas, and then to California, and was in San Diego in 1896, engaged in studying out the travels of the early Spanish explorers. In a letter to me he says that he crossed the Rocky Mountains on the same trail that Lewis and Clark did in 1805 and that it has been used ever since, and was in use earlier than the time of Lewis and Clark.

John Carlton Jones was born in Kentucky. In 1882 he began to teach Latin in the Missouri University, and has now been so employed for twenty-five years. He was assistant and then Secretary of the Faculty. In 1891 he became full professor in charge of the Latin Department, and now, for several years has been Dean of the Academic Faculty.

Joneses may be found throughout the State of Missouri, and many of them have been prominent and influential, and we do not recall that any have not performed their part well.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

SOME HISTORICAL LINES OF MISSOURI.

Missouri is entitled to be regarded as the keystone State of the American Union rather than Pennsylvania. Her geographical position made her the highway and the principal theatre of all the early explorers. A hundred years ago all western roads pointed to our state, and for a half century they ended at or in her borders. Her eastern shore is laved by the mightiest river of the world; the great Missouri bisects her territory, and the Ohio with its drain arteries extending into New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, strikes her border sixty miles above her southeastern border as the bird flies, and more than twice that distance probably by the meanderings of the great river. Missouri lies between 36° 30' and 40° 34' 40" north latitude, and between these two lines the fiercest contests, political and military, of the country, were fought to a finish and settled.

The Missouri Compromise Line.

It turns out that the most important line in our history, The Missouri Compromise Line, coincides almost in its whole extent with the southern boundary of our state, and before going into the history of the former I will briefly state the history of the establishment of the latter.

The first petition for the admission of Missouri into the Union was prepared and signed in the fall of 1817, and on March 17, 1818, John Scott, our delegate to Congress, presented this petition to the House and it was referred to a committee. This petition asked that the southern boundary of the state be fixed at 30° 30' north latitude, stating that that was an extension of the line between Virginia and North Carolina and Kentucky and Tennessee. November 22, 1818, the Territorial Legislature of Missouri adopted a memorial which was

presented to Congress, praying that the southern line of the new state be fixed as follows: Beginning on the Mississippi at the line of 36° north latitude and running thence to the junction of Big Black and White Rivers; thence up the main fork of White River to 36° 30' and thence west, etc. There were two settlements between the lines proposed by the peoples' petition and the legislative memorial, one along the river in what is now Pemiscot county and the other on White and Black Rivers and probably a few on the St. Francois. At that time there was a county called Lawrence, composed of a strip of territory now within the limits of this state, about thirty miles wide, extending from the St. Francois River to the western border of the state, and running to Little Red River on the south, with its county seat at Davidsonville, which was near the present site of Pocahontas, New Madrid county, with its county seat at the town of New Madrid included the settlements along the river in what is now Pemiscot county. As soon as the agitation for the admission of Missouri began, an effort was made to organize the Arkansas Territory. This brought the question of the boundary line of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas to the front, and the line as it stands today was agreed on. That line was a compromise. The settlers along the Mississippi prayed that their business and political relations with the other citizens of New Madrid county be not severed by cutting them off from their county seat. Their wishes prevailed and what has sometimes been called "Missouri's Toe" (Pemiscot and Dunklin counties) was added to Missouri. And for a like reason the settlers along White and Black Rivers with their county seat, Davidsonville, were included in the bounds of Arkansas Territory. The bill to admit Missouri was passed by the House on February 17, 1819, and on the day that bill passed, a bill to organize the Arkansas Territory was introduced into the House. The latter bill became a law March 2nd, 1819, but the Missouri bill was lost March 3rd of the same year, and did not become a law until more than a year afterwards, so the Act March 2, 1819, organizing Arkansas Territory, first fixed the line 36° from the Mississippi to the St.

Francois, and 36° 30' from that river west as the northern line of Arkansas, and by the act of March 6, 1820, that line was made the southern line of Missouri. The starting point on the Mississippi for this line had its inception in an act of the Missouri Territorial Legislature of December 31, 1813, defining the line between New Madrid and Arkansas counties. That line began at the lower end of Island No. 19 (near the line of 36°), and ran thence to the mouth of Little Red River and thence up that river to the western line of the "Osage Purchase." That was before Lawrence county, which was bounded east by the St. Francois, was formed.

The line between Arkansas and Missouri was for many years a source of annoyance to the settlers along the border of the two jurisdictions. January 21, 1821, the Missouri Legislature prayed the Government at Washington to survey this line and locate it, which was done in 1823 by Joseph C. Brown, under appointment of Wm. C. Rector, Surveyor General of Missouri and Illinois. But the friction between the settlers along the above line continued for a long time. Finally, February 11, 1841, the Missouri Legislature authorized the Governor to appoint a commissioner to act with one from Arkansas to survey and more exactly fix and mark the line. Under this act, Governor Marmaduke appointed Ex-Governor Daniel Dunklin to make the survey, and he and the commissioner from Arkansas commenced the work, but on July 25, 1844, Dunklin died. George Penn, of Saline county, was appointed vice Dunklin, and by November, 1844, sixty miles of the line had been surveyed. Afterwards the whole survey was finished and the line, reported by the joint commissioners, was ratified by Arkansas by Act of December 23, 1846, by Missouri by Act of February 16, 1847, and by Congress by Act of February 15, 1848.

The Adoption of the Missouri Compromise Line.

The establishment of the boundary line between Missouri and Arkansas had no political significance whatever. but out of its establishment grew the first great slavery agitation in our country, which resulted in the adoption of what is known

in history as the Missouri Compromise Line. This was the fourth compromise on the slavery question. In the formation of the constitution there had been three compromises on this subject:

First. The Fugitive Slave Clause.

Second. Three fifths of the slaves (called "other persons" to avoid the use of the word "slave" in the Constitution) were to be reckoned as a basis of representation in the lower House of Congress and for taxation.

Third. The Foreign Slave Trade might be abolished after the year 1808.

From the time of the adoption of these three compromises, 1787-89 to the adoption of the fourth in 1820, was what might be termed the tranquil period in our national history in regard to slavery agitation. The first suggestion of a line dividing slave and free soil came from Mr. Louis McLane, of Delaware, during the discussion of the bills to admit Missouri as a State, and to organize the Territory of Arkansas in 1819. February 15, 1819, Mr. Talmage, of New York, proposed a scheme for the gradual emancipation of slaves in Missouri, and on February 17, 1819, Mr. Taylor, of New York also, proposed the same scheme for Arkansas. February 15th Mr. McLane suggested a line, without naming any particular line, however, equitably dividing the territory west of the Mississippi between the contending parties, as a compromise. Mr. Taylor's emancipation scheme for Arkansas was defeated in the House February 17, 1819, by a vote of 68 to 80. The same day Mr. Taylor introduced, for the first time in the history of the country, an amendment to the Arkansas bill, fixing the line of 36° 30' as a dividing line between slavery and freedom. The same day Mr. Harrison proposed that this line should run due west from the mouth of the Des Moines river. After a heated debate Mr. Taylor withdrew his amendment to the Arkansas bill, and that Territory was organized by Act March 2, 1819, without restrictions as to slavery. As has been noted, the Missouri bill, on account of the slavery question, was lost the next day, March 3, 1819. At the next session the Missouri bill was re-introduced, and Mr. Talmage renewed his amendment, providing

for the gradual emancipation of the slaves of Missouri. The scheme was to prohibit in the future the importation of any more slaves into the state, and to make all children born of slave mothers free after the age of twenty-five years. At that time there were in the State about eleven thousand slaves. Most of the leading statesmen of Missouri, including her representative in Congress, John Scott, and her two future senators, Benton and Barton, opposed this emancipation scheme. and insisted on the admission of the state without conditions as to slavery. It is proper to state, however, that the citizens of Missouri were, by no means, unanimous in making the institution of slavery permanent in this state. In April, 1820, a meeting of about one hundred citizens of St. Louis was held, presided over by Joseph Charless, at which it was resolved that the further importation of slaves into the state be stopped as soon as possible. The debate in Congress became bitter and memorable. The agitation growing out of it, which was simply a renewal of the agitation at the preceding session, continued for weeks, exciting the passions of both sides almost to the point of sundering the bonds of our union. A compromise, the fourth on the slavery question, was finally reached. This compromise, proposed by Senator Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, provided that slavery should not exist in any of the territory acquired by us from France in 1803 north of 36° 30' north latitude, except Missouri, which might be admitted as a slave state. Please note this exception as important, as will be developed hereafter. This line was adopted by Act of Congress March 6, 1820. Note this date also as an epoch marker.

Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Holt, April 13, 1820, referring to the measure said: "The coincidence of a marked principle, moral and political, with a geographical line, once conceived, I feared would never more be obliterated from the mind." He added that he feared that the union was doomed, and went so far as to suggest a line of cleavage, the Potomac, Ohio and Missouri, or probably the Mississippi rivers (meaning, of course, the Mississippi north of the Ohio). A week later, in a letter to Holmes, he said: "This momentous ques-

tion, like a fire bell at night, awakened me and filled me with terror. I considered it at once the knell of the Union." He added that his one comfort was that he would not live to see the catastrophe. As an index to the feeling of our State at the time on this question, and as exemplifying the trend of political action of this period, I will state that the grand juries of St. Louis, St. Charles and Jefferson counties (and there may have been more) made reports to their respective courts, asserting the dogma of states rights and severely criticizing Congress for its action in connection with the establishment of this line. Mr. Jefferson was mistaken when he suggested that the establishment of this line introduced a new element in American politics. "The coincidence of a marked principle, normal and political, with a geographical line," existed at the time of the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, and had existed for over half a century. Jeremiah Mason and Charles Dixon, two celebrated English surveyors, had fixed and marked the line between Pennsylvania on one side and Delaware and Maryland on the other in 1760-67, and while that line had no political significance at the time it was surveyed, it, in time came to be universally recognized in this country as the line dividing slave from free territory. In 1787 this line, as a divisional one between slavery and freedom, was extended along the Ohio to its mouth and from the ocean to the mouth of the Ohio it became recognized as Mason and Dixon's line. On one side of it lay the South; on the other side the North. On this side slavery existed, on that freedom prevailed. Here was slave soil and slave labor, there was free soil and free labor. This line, at first a purely imaginary one, in time became a chasm and finally became the battle line of the contending forces. This line divided the States, while the Missouri Compromise, when established, divided only the territories of the United States, then largely uninhabited.

If the line between the free and slave States, the Ohio river, had been extended westward, it would nearly have coincided with the southern line of Missouri, as fixed by the Act of March 6, 1820. Benton, in his abridgement of Con-

gressional Debates, Vol. 6, p. 430, says, a proposition was made in Congress in 1811 to extend this line westward from the mouth of the Ohio. It is probable that both sides agreed to the Missouri Compromise under a serious misconception of the character of the Louisiana Purchase, outside of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota, as geographers of that day marked nearly all of the territory west of the Missouri as the "Great American Desert." By this mutual mistake both sides did not think that they were surrendering very much in fixing the line they did between slave and free soil.

The Missouri Compromise Line, as established by Act of March 6, 1820, extended no further west than the 100° west longitude, which had been fixed as the western line of the Louisiana Purchase south of the Arkansas River, by the treaty with Spain in 1819, but by the Act of Congress, 1845, fixing the boundary of Texas, it was provided that if any states should, in the future, be formed out of Texas territory, slavery should not exist north of 36° 30', which had the effect to extend the Missouri Compromise Line to the Rio Grande. Afterwards when other territories were organized, a narrow strip of land nearly 200 miles long and 35 miles wide, lying between 36° 30' and 37° North latitude and 100° and 103° west longitude was not included in any of them, and was for a long time known as "No Man's Land" but it was finally attached to Oklahoma, and now forms Beaver County of that State.

February 15, 1847, when it had become manifest that an extensive territory would be acquired from Mexico, and when the agitation growing out of the Wilmot proviso, which sought to prohibit slavery in our acquisitions from Mexico, was again convulsing the country, the Missouri Legislature adopted resolutions instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives from Missouri, to abide by the Missouri Compromise Line in the organization of future governments for the territories then owned or that might, in the future, be owned by us. Thus as late as 1847

the Missouri Legislature had no thought and probably no desire to disturb that line.

March 10, 1849, the same Legislature adopted what are known as the "Jackson Resolutions," which asserted the doctrine of State Sovereignty and of States Rights, and alligned Missouri with the extremists of the South. These resolutions asserted further that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in any of the territories of the United States, "but for the sake of harmony and the preservation of the Federal Union they will still sanction the application of the principles of the Missouri Compromise to the recent acquisitions, if by such concessions, future aggressions upon the equal rights of the States may be arrested and the spirit of anti-slavery fanaticism extinguished." By the resolutions the Senators from Missouri were instructed and her Representatives requested, to vote in accordance with the principles they announced on all questions coming within their purview. The great Benton revolted against these resolutions, and in 1849-50 made his memorable appeal to the people and thereby lost his place in the Senate, to the irreparable loss of the State. The defeat of Benton marked an important epoch in Missouri history, for by it our State passed from the conservative leadership of Bentonism to the radical leadership of anti-Bentonism, to continue up to the flight of Governor Jackson across her southern line in 1861, a period of ten years. It ought never to be forgotten, however, that though Benton was defeated, his memorable appeal did more than any other one thing to make Missouri Union in sentiment. He charged that the "Jackson Resolutions" spelled secession and disunion, which forced his enemies to deny this; and to fortify them in this denial, to vociferously assert that they loved the Union and would do all they could to maintain it. Hence, on this appeal, all were, publicly at least, for the Union, with this distinction; Benton and his adherents were for the Union first and slavery afterwards, while the anti-Bentonites were for slavery first and the Union afterwards. This contest did not end with the defeat of Benton. He and his adherents con-

tinued it until his defeat for Governor in 1856, when he retired from public life. He had, however, sown the seeds of Unionism, which germinated and brought forth abundant fruit. When the crisis came, February 28, 1861, the State adhered to the Union by a vote of 80,000 majority. It should be noted at this point that the Missouri Legislature, on the 21st day of February, 1861, just seven days before this decisive vote for the Union, by joint resolution declared against coercion, and "that in case of invasion of any Southern State to carry that doctrine into effect, the people of Missouri will instantly rally on the side of their southern brethren to resist the invasions at all hazards and to the last extremity," which shows that representative bodies do not always represent.

In 1850 other compromise measures were adopted, as follows:

1st. California was admitted as a free State.

2nd. New Mexico, its north line extending to the Arkansas river, and Utah, were organized as territories, and authorized to come into the Union free or slave, as they chose.

3rd. The Fugitive Slave law was strengthened.

4th. The slave trade in the District of Columbia was prohibited. These made eight compromises on the subject of slavery, and thus ended the compromising era of our country.

The Fugitive Slave Law.

The Fugitive Slave Law was always intensely unpopular in the North, and the one of 1850 was denounced more bitterly than the one of 1793, as it required the citizens of the North, when called on by the officers of the law, to become "slave catchers," as they called it. They claimed that it was asking too much to require them, by law, to help capture and return to slavery men and women, though black, fleeing by their doors to make themselves free, or forbidden to feed them or give them shelter.

Uncle Tom's Cabin.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe published "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in 1851-52, as a protest against the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. She makes heroes and heroines of the men and women who refused to obey that law by feeding and clothing fugitive slaves and aiding them in their flight to freedom. She also portrays, in strong dramatic colors, the inhumanity of breaking up the family life and sundering the ties between parents and children, husbands and wives of the slaves of the South by their sale and separation. She sarcastically refers to the fact that fugitive slaves had to be clandestinely conducted through a free country to a province of a monarchy, Canada, before they could be free. Mrs. Stowe appealed chiefly to the men and women of the North, but she did not ignore the South. Her work struck a sympathetic cord in the human heart everywhere, and it met with an immense sale. The result was, lines known as "underground railroads," were established from Mason and Dixon's line to Canada for the escape of fugitive slaves, and by means of which many did escape. This angered the South, and its statesmen insisted that the North had already abrogated the Missouri Compromise, at least in its spirit, and they began again to seriously discuss the question whether Congress possessed the power to exclude slavery from any of the territories of the United States, and by 1854, they were ready to overthrow the Missouri Compromise Line.

At that time, (1854), the two Senators of Missouri, David R. Atchison, a democrat, and Henry S. Geyer, a whig, and all the Representatives in the House, except Benton, then a member of that body, were extreme pro-slavery men.

The Churches Divided.

In the meantime the line of demarkation between slave and free soil had become a disturbing element in the churches. The Methodist body had split along that line in 1844, and the Presbyterians and Baptists soon followed

This schism distinctly emphasized the moral and religious phase of the question involved and aligned religionists, North and South of this dividing line, into separate groups. Nearly all the members of the religious bodies in the slave States, became political adherents of the pro-slave idea, and nearly all in the free States became political adherents of the free soil cause. This allignment intensified the situation and embittered the controversy.

It is important in this connection to refer to another significant episode in the history of Missouri. January 16, 1833, the Missouri Legislature formed a new county and named it Van Buren, in honor of the Vice-President of the United States. February 16, 1841, the same Legislature, by joint resolutions, addressed Mr. Van Buren, as President of the United States, tendering him its regard, esteem and confidence, and complimenting him on his firm stand for the rights of slaveholders "against the operations of a party, which is led by the world's convention of England and is rendered formidable by its association with the capitalists of London and many of our deluded citizens," and on his opposition to the measure to allow the postoffice to carry abolition documents. Van Buren was defeated for the nomination for President in the democratic convention of 1844, and in 1848 he ran for President on a free soil platform, and thus caused the defeat of Lewis Cass, the candidate of the democratic party on a state's rights platform, and March 7, 1849, the same Legislature changed the name of Van Buren county to Cass. How fickle is fame! The Legislature in changing the name of Van Buren county discreetly omitted its reasons for so doing. In this, Missouri showed herself more radical than Arkansas, which has allowed the name of Van Buren to designate one of her counties even to this day.

David R. Atchison.

This gentleman, who succeeded Dr. Linn in the Senate in the fall of 1844, was the antipode of Benton, the other Senator. Benton, while pro-slavery, was an unconditional

Union man. Atchison was for the Union but not without slavery; the former was consistent, the latter inconsistent, as his public career will show. Senator Atchison, March 10, 1848, after our acquisitions from Mexico, the largest portion of which lay south of the line of 36° 30' voted to extend the Missouri Compromise Line to the Pacific and so did Benton on the organization of Oregon Territory, but subsequently, fearing that the bill would be lost with that provision in it, Benton and other men were willing to omit it but Atchison insisted on retaining it. Again on the adoption of the Compromise measures of 1850, Mr. Atchison voted to extend the Missouri Compromise line to California, but he was again defeated and this time he went so far as to join Jeff. Davis, R. M. T. Hunter and some other southern men in a protest against its non-extension. This protest asserted that the refusal to extend that line to California "was fatal to the peace and equality of the States.....and leading, if persisted in, to a dissolution of the Confederacy." Atchison's change of base will be noticed under the next sub-head.

The Abrogation of the Missouri Compromise Line.

In the winter of 1853, a bill for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska was before the Senate, and Mr. Atchison stated that, while he did not consider the Missouri Compromise Line as just, he had come to the conclusion that it could not be repealed, and hence it might be considered as permanent, and he was willing to organize the Territory on that theory. But by the next session a change had come over the spirit of his dream, and he became a persistent advocate of the abrogation of that line. In January, 1854, Mr. Douglas, chairman of the Committee on Territories, made a report on the Nebraska bill, in which it was recommended that the line 36° 30' be disturbed; but finally he changed his mind and reported a bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and recommended that this historic line be abrogated. Mr. Atchison, in a speech

at Atchison, Kas., September 20, 1854, gave the reason for this change of base on the part of Senator Douglas. In that speech he told the people that he had forced Douglas to take that step by telling him that if he did not report an amendment to the bill to abrogate that line, he, (Atchison), would resign as Vice-President, be put at the head of the Territorial Committee, and report such a measure himself. And he went on to say that Douglas yielded, and on May 30, 1854, Mr. Pierce signed the bill, with that provision in it, wiping out the Missouri Compromise Line, and leaving the people of the Territories free to adopt or reject slavery at their own option. May 30, 1854, thus becomes one of the most memorable days in the history of our country, and especially in the history of Missouri. That day was the beginning of the end of slavery, and of the dogma of peaceable secession. Jefferson was mistaken about the establishment of the Missouri Compromise Line being an error, sufficient to cause alarm, but his criticism of that line and his prophecy in regard to it exactly fit the crisis reached May 30, 1854, when that line was abrogated. The abrogation of that line came like a clap of thunder out of a clear sky and it fell upon the ears of the people like a fire alarm at night, filling them with alarm and indignation. The North was ripe for decisive action. This line which had been regarded as sacred as the Constitution itself and as a measure of peace for over thirty-four years was wiped out, and the proposition to carry slavery into all the Territories aroused a storm of wrath and indignation throughout the North, and the determination was at once formed to fight the institution to a finish everywhere. The pulpit, platform and press, along the whole line of the free States hurled their anathemas against what they termed the oppressions of the slave power, urging that that power proposed to nationalize slavery. The anti-slavery people asserted it had been the hope of the fathers, Southern as well as Northern, that slavery would in time be put in the way of final extinction, and that hope had been theirs up to May 30, 1854, but by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise

Line, they were forced to the conclusion that the slaveholders intended to extend that institution with the deep-seated determination to perpetuate it. This they intended to resist to the last extremity. The conflict between freedom and slavery in their minds became irrepressible. The South insisted that slaves were mere chattels, on a par with horses and cattle, and as such, slaveholders had a right to carry them into the Territories of the United States where the Constitution threw its protecting arm around them, not to free them, but to enslave them. And when the slaveholders, with the Bible in one hand and the Constitution in the other, asserted that by the first they could prove slavery right and by the other legal, the anti-slavery people replied that if that was true, which they denied, they would demand an anti-slavery God, and anti-slavery Bible and an anti-slavery Constitution, and that they would appeal to a law higher than the Constitution or institutions, the law of eternal justice and love of humanity. The assertion of a Divine sanction for slavery, and the further assertion that slaves were mere chattels, things to be treated like other property and that when the masters moved to the Territories with their slaves, they carried with them also the law of slavery of their own States, shocked the whole North, and the assertion of the higher law doctrine shocked the whole South.

In the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Line by the slaveholding States chiefly, the South unwittingly threw down the gauntlet of war, which the North promptly took up and the two antagonistic civilizations buckled on their armor for the conflict. In the North this conflict was intended to be to a finish from the start. There were to be no more palliations or compromises; but the South, having avowedly adopted the Kansas-Nebraska bill as a peace measure, as it was termed, did not awake to a full realization of the nature of the conflict it had precipitated for two or three years afterwards.

Kansas Becomes the Battlefield.

The effect of the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise Line, instead of calming the troubled waters of slavery agitation, simply transferred the contest from the halls of Congress to the plains of Kansas, which became at once the center of the stage, and remained such for three years.

Emigrant Aid Societies.

The portents of the coming storm had already, by the time the Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law, induced the people of Massachusetts to organize Emigrant Aid Societies to make Kansas a free State, and in a short time Missourians, under the leadership of Atchison, B. F. Stringfellow, Claiborne F. Jackson, and others organized secret. oath-bound Blue Lodges, Social Bands and Sons of the South, afterwards joined by organized bands from South Carolina and Georgia, to make Kansas a slave State. These methods, on both sides, were new in American politics and tended to intensify and embitter the struggle.

The Republican Party.

An anti-slavery party, the Republican, sprang up as if by magic, the sole inspiration of which was "free speech, free soil and free men" and around this sentiment the anti-slavery forces became coherent, persistent and determined. The struggle in Kansas was fierce and bloody. March 30, 1855, large numbers of armed Missourians invaded that Territory and elected a pro-slavery Legislature, which became "the direful spring of woes unnumbered" to both Kansas and Missouri. May 21, 1856, Sheriff Jones and his posse, composed of Missourians very largely, sacked Lawrence and destroyed two free State newspapers. May 24, 1856, old John Brown appears upon the scene at Dutch Henry's Crossing, Kas., where he and his companions killed five pro-slavery men in a most cruel and wanton manner. The free State people from March 30, 1855, when the Mis-

sourians elected a Kansas Legislature, refused to recognize that Legislaure as legal or the government it established as entitled to their allegiance, and organized a State government of their own, formed a constitution known as the "Topeka Constitution," and under it applied for admission into the Union as a free State. The anti-slavery members of Congress supported this free State government, and voted to admit Kansas as a free State under the Topeka Constitution, while the pro-slavery members, backed by the administration fought both as illegal and revolutionary.

The Sumner-Brooks Episode.

May 21, 1856, Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, made his bitter speech in the Senate on what he termed "The Crime Against Kansas," and on the next day Preston H. Brooks, of South Carolina, struck Sumner over the head with his cane, knocking him senseless to the floor. Sumner's condition after this stroke aroused the sympathy and indignation of the whole North, and Brooks, after an unsuccessful attempt to expel him from the House, which was at the time anti-slavery, resigned his seat and applied to his people for vindication, which they gave him almost unanimously, there being only six votes against him. This episode became of national importance as a controling element in the politics of the day. In the eyes of the extremists of the North, Brooks' assault embodied the ruffian spirit of pro-slaveryism and Sumner's speech, in the eyes of the South, embodied the spirit of the abolitionists, who had, it was claimed, no regard for the rights of slaveholders. During this period a new impetus was given to the sale of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," hundreds of thousands of copies of which were bought and eagerly read. The advance in the spirit of the pro-slavery propaganda was shown by resolutions passed by a convention of southern men held at Savannah, Ga., December 12, 1856, and at another at Vicksburg in 1859, asking for the repeal of the law interdicting the foreign slave trade. During the years 1856-60 many negroes

from Africa were smuggled into Southern ports and sold there into slavery.

The Dred Scott Case.

March 6, 1857, is also an epoch marker. On that day the Dred Scott Case, the most celebrated in the annals of this country, made Dred Scott, a Missouri negro, the most notorious, if not the most illustrious, man of his age. Since March 6, 1857, his name has been spoken and printed millions of times. The Court, through Chief Justice Tawney, in that case, held: 1st. The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. 2nd. As the Constitution makes no distinction between slave property and other property, "no tribunal acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive or judicial, has a right to draw such distinctions or deny to it" the protection of the Government. 3rd. No negro, whether free or slave, could become a citizen of the United States without their consent. 4th. For a hundred years before the adoption of the Constitution the people held that negroes had no rights which they (the whites) were bound to respect. 5th. That neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature had the power to exclude slavery from the Territories, and consequently the Missouri Compromise Line was unconstitutional and void. McLean and Curtis, two of the Justices, filed able dissenting opinions, taking issue with the Chief Justice on all points. The decision caused jubilation and delight in the South. Now there could be no question but that all the Territories were alike open to the slaveholders with the assurance of protection for slave property there. The North, on the other hand, could see nothing in this decision but added proof of the determination of the slaveholders to nationalize slavery, reversing, as it did, the policy inaugurated by Jefferson in 1784, and consummated by the ordinance of 1787, and the compromise measures of 1820 and 1850, and the Republican party, the anti-slavery party, lately organized, appealed from the Supreme Court to the people on the momentous questions

involved in the Dred Scott case. Here was presented a new phase of an old conflict. The South maintained that this appeal was simply a new manifestation, in concrete form, of the higher law doctrine; it was revolutionary and subversive of all government. On this appeal in the Dred Scott case, the anti-slavery advocates argued that it was only a step from the principles of this decision to the nationalization of what they regarded as the "crime of crimes" as "the sum of all villainies." It was plain to them that if slaves were mere chattels, things, like horses or cattle, and the Constitution of the United States threw its protecting arm around the institution of slavery in the Territories, the same Constitution protected slavery in all the States, against State Constitutions or State laws, thus nationalizing that institution. This seemed logical. They further contended that while the Constitution recognized the existence of slavery, it did not establish it....that slavery was against the world spirit and especially against the spirit of American institutions, and that Congress had the power and ought to exercise the power to prevent the extension of such an institution into the Territories under its immediate control. Their battle cry became "No more slave States anywhere North or South." Thomas H. Benton, in September, 1857, published, in Washington, "An Examination of the Dred Scott Decision" in which he took the ground that it was wrong on every point, considered judicially or historically.

Missouri Takes a Hand Again.

February 16, 1857, the Missouri Legislature declared by a joint resolution by a vote in the House of 107 to 12, 13 not voting, and in the Senate by a vote of 25 to 4, 4 not voting, "that the emancipation of slaves held as property in this State would be impracticable, inexpedient, impolitic, unwise and unjust and should be discountenanced by the people of the State."

The Battle of the Constitution.

The Kansas Legislature, elected March 30, 1855, enacted an extreme pro-slavery code, even making it a felony to deny by word or in print that a man could not hold slaves in Kansas, and in 1857 it called a Constitutional Convention which adopted a pro-slavery constitution, known as "The LeCompton Constitution," which was presented in the winter of 1858, and Congress was asked to admit Kansas under it as a slave State. Then came the battle of the constitutions, LeCompton against Topeka. The LeCompton Constitution proved to be the rock on which the Democratic party split. The Buchanan administration advocated the admission of Kansas under that Constitution, while Douglas and his followers took strong grounds against it, arguing that it was very plain that that Constitution did not reflect the will of the people of that Territory. The contest became one mainly between the administration and the Douglasites, as the Democratic party, at that time, controlled both Houses of Congress. There is very little question that Douglas decided the fate of Kansas. If he had joined the administration forces, the LeCompton Constitution would probably have been adopted, and the whole course of Kansas-Missouri history changed. This schism in the Democratic party became permanent, and projected itself into the presidential compaign of 1860, and really determined its result. The outcome of the whole matter was the submission of the LeCompton Constitution to a vote of the people of Kansas with the promise of protection against outsiders, and the assurance of a fair election. August 2, 1858, the people rejected it by a vote of 11,300 to 1,788. This really ended the contest there. That vote made it plain that Kansas was to come in as a free State.

Illinois Becomes the Battlefield.

Lincoln in the Limelight.

A crisis was plainly in view and events of portentious importance, it was seen, would soon transpire, and the man to meet that crisis and control those events emerged from

comparative obscurity. This man was Abraham Lincoln. The great debate between him and Douglas in Illinois took place in 1858, and the whole country listened. In that debate and in the next two years, this man, seeing more clearly than any other statesman of that period, the issues that ought to be made, brought order out of chaos. The course of the free State men of Kansas in refusing to recognize the Legislature elected March 30, 1855, as they claimed, by Missourians, as legal, or to obey the government it set up, which course was endorsed by the anti-slavery forces in Congress and in the country, and the proclamation of the higher law doctrine by such men as Seward and Sumner, and the war made on the Fugitive Slave Law, had made the attitude of the Republican party one of disorder and disobedience to law, and had made the Democratic the law and order party. Mr. Lincoln saw clearly that if this attitude of the two parties was maintained, nothing but defeat could come to the party advocating disobedience to and defiance of the law; and here is where he showed wisdom above that of his contemporary statesmen. He saw that the fight, the final one, between slavery and freedom, was on. The vast step on the slavery question from Thomas Jefferson to Jefferson Davis, plainly portended the trend of slavery agitation. The aggressions of the slave power, as it was called, must cease. All of the territory of the United States must be dedicated to freedom. No more slave States must be admitted, but all this must be done legally and in order. Mr. Lincoln pointed the way. He ignored the higher law doctrine entirely, asserted that the slaveholders were entitled to a fair fugitive slave law, and that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed. This turned all the abolitionists against him, but he persisted. He asserted that the fathers deemed slavery an evil to be dealt with as such, and that we must come back to that thought. The South claimed a divine sanction for slavery, making it right, and a constitutional sanction, making it legal. He said it was "no just function of the Government to prohibit what is not wrong," that if "slavery

is right, ordained by the Almighty, on one side of a line..... then it is positively wrong to harrass and bedevil the owners of it with constitutions and laws and prohibitions of it on the other side of the line." "We must have," he says, "a national policy as to slavery which deals with it as being wrong." If slavery is right it can logically go everywhere; if it is wrong it ought finally to disappear everywhere. The slaveholders deemed slavery right. The North, if it was to remain consistent, must take the ground that slavery is wrong. This would make the issue between slavery and freedom irrepressible, and that conflict would go on until freedom conquered slavery or was conquered by it. This country could not remain half slave and half free; that a house divided against itself could not stand. He did not expect the country to become all slave, but he did hope and expect, as our fathers had hoped and expected, that slavery would in time be put in such shape that the people would rest assured it would finally disappear, and we would become a homogeneous people. All of this must be done, Mr. Lincoln said, under the forms of law. Even in his criticism of the Dred Scott decision, and his appeal to the people from that decision, he took no revolutionary stand. The Supreme Court, he said, had in the past reversed its own decisions and it could do so again. He appealed to the people because he claimed the people could unmake and remake both the Court and the Constitution. Many of that time thought, as many think now, that Mr. Lincoln, at this point, got on very thin ice. But he was right, and in this his democracy touched elbows with the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson, though it stood in deadly conflict with that of the extreme Southern Democrats of that day The history of the Supreme Court proves that Mr. Lincoln had the right to make that appeal. Federalist judges wrote Federalist doctrines permanently in our institutions. Democratic judges conformed their views to the Democratic pro-slavery construction of the Constitution, and Republican judges have engrafted Republican principles in the laws of the land. Besides that, the Democratic party, for thirty

years prior to 1860, had made a successful appeal to the people from the decisions of the Supreme Court on the power of Congress to establish a National Bank; and even as late as 1896 and 1900, the Democratic party in its platform appealed from the Supreme Court on the bank and income tax questions.

The law will grow under our form of government, and I maintain that the people have a right, and the power, too, to make that growth conform to their conceptions of government. There is no danger in this principle, either. If England, without a written constitution, has evolved in the ages such splendid government as she has, there can come no possible danger to us from a government evolved by the people under a written constitution in an orderly and regular way.

Mr. Lincoln's outline of the issues, so plain and explicit, struck a responsive cord in the Northern heart. Is slavery right? If so, protect it. Is it wrong? If so, treat it as all other wrongs are treated, so as to get rid of it peaceably as soon as possible. On the other hand, the South denounced Mr. Lincoln's position in unmeasured terms, and December 15, 1859, the Missouri Legislature, by joint resolutions, joined the South in such denunciation.

Events moved rapidly to make the issue between slavery as right, having Divine sanction, and slavery as wrong, to be dealt with as such, sharper and more distinct.

Helper's Impending Crisis.

In 1859, Helper, a North Carolinian, published "The Impending Crisis." Mrs. Stowe had appealed to the moral and religious forces of the country against slavery, while Helper appealed mainly to the non-slaveholders of the South against that institution, presenting the economic side of the slave question. The book was full of statistics, showing that slavery was a fatal injury to the South and to free labor. It was endorsed by John Sherman and other leading anti-slavery men, and it was printed and distributed in the

North as a campaign document in 1860. This book angered the South to a greater extent than "Uncle Tom's Cabin," because it struck nearer home. It appealed to the non-slaveholders of the South, and the slaveholders realized that if ever the non-slaveholders of their section concluded slavery was, in an economic way, an injury to them, slavery was doomed in the States, for out of a white population in the South in 1850 of about 6,000,000, 4,250,000 were non-slaveholders, and, of course, if united, could control the remainder, less than 2,000,000. Helper and all his endorsers were furiously denounced everywhere in the South.

John Brown.

In the same year, 1859, John Brown made his celebrated raid at Harper's Ferry, Va., and he was captured and hung. His execution was witnessed by 2,000 people, among them being Governor Wise of Virginia, Wilkes Booth and Robert E. Lee. The poets of the North apotheocized John Brown as the very incarnation of the spirit of freedom and of the higher law doctrine, that if it be right to enslave men and women by force, it is not only right, but a duty to make them free by force, and in less than five years the soldiers of the Union army and the people, too, were singing "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

In the South John Brown was denounced as a murderer and traitor, and the people there viewed his act as only another proof of the lawlessness of abolition fanaticism.

The Higher Law.

As has been stated, Mrs. Stowe in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" made heroes and heroines of the men and women who defied the Fugitive Slave Law, and aided slaves to escape from bondage by means of the underground railroad to Canada. A slave catcher came to be detested in the North, as much as a slave-kidnapper was in the South. Many fugitive slave cases came before the courts, every one creating

intense excitement. One, however, as portraying in a peculiar way the prevailing feeling in the North, may be specially mentioned.

At Oberlin, Ohio, a fugitive slave was turned over to the owner or his agent and Simon Bushnell and about thirty others rescued him September 13, 1858. The rescuers were indicted, and in April, 1859, Bushnell was tried and convicted in Cleveland, and made to pay a fine of $600.00, and was sent to jail for sixty days. The people let the law take its course, but when Bushnell had served out his jail sentence they made his return to Oberlin, July 11th, a triumphant march, where an immense crowd was gathered to welcome him home. He made a speech saying that he had done right, had paid the penalty of the law for it, and he was ready to do the same thing again when opportunity offered, whereat a great shout of approval rent the air. The whole affair from its inception to its close had lasted about ten months. The whole North was aroused. The press, platform and pulpit resounded with sympathy for Bushnell, and with a full endorsement of his course and of his determination to obey his conscience rather than the law. The people became conscious of the deeper conflict underlying and causing the throes of the time. Both parties saw the issue in its full bearing. The conflict was irrepressible indeed and the crisis was seen to be surely approaching.

Bushnell's case revealed a new phase of the higher law doctrine, presenting the difference between submission to law and disobedience to law. He had disobeyed the Fugitive Slave Law, but he submitted to the penalty it imposed. There was no effort on the part of the people to rescue him. They also submitted to the law, but when he emerged from his prison sentence, they tumultuously put upon his brow the martyr's crown.

The fugitive slave cases, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Helper's "The Impending Crisis" and the general trend of the slavery agitation, brought the South to realize that a defense of slavery had to be made before the bar of the American people. Mr. E. N. Elliott of Mississippi undertook this task,

and January 1, 1860, published a book called "Cotton is King." This work contained many articles by the ablest pro-slavery writers of the country. It undertook to show that African slavery, as it existed in the United States, was economically and morally right, that it had the Divine sanction in the Bible, that it was a blessing to the whites and slaves alike, and that the effort of the anti-slavery people of the North to abolish it was a crime, and it must be confessed that it left nothing on that side to be said. This book was in line with the thought of all the pro-slavery statesmen of the day; and they cannot be regarded as of a low order intellectually, though they lacked the imagination to transmit a knowledge of the past into the comprehensions of the future. They clearly comprehended the issue Mr. Lincoln had made between slavery as right and slavery as wrong, and feeling that they must stand by the rightfulness of slavery or go down, inspired "Cotton is King," which, in a very able way, undertook to show that slavery was right. But the appeal was against the moral sense of the world and of the age, and from the start they fought a losing fight. "Cotton is King," however, had the effect to make the issue clearer and sharper, and when the final test came in November, 1860, between the united forces opposed to slavery as wrong, and the warring, discordant factions of the opposing forces, Mr. Lincoln, representing the former was elected President.

Six years of intense and angry agitation, accompanied by lawlessness and bloodshed, had heated the iron hot, and South Carolina, taking Mr. Lincoln at his word that the purpose of his party was to nationalize freedom, struck while the iron was hot, and ten of her Southern sisters, some willingly, some reluctantly, followed her lead, and at half past four on the morning of April 12, 1861, the bomb was fired on Ft. Sumpter and the flag, and called the nation to arms, and the maintainance of the Union was submitted to the arbitrament of the sword.

The conservative, compromising forces of the border States stood aghast at war, but the extremists of both sides

stood firm, the South because it felt sure of separation and independence, the North, because, while it hoped to perpetuate the Union, it would, in case of final separation, be relieved from responsibility for slavery and as a foreign nation it would have a free hand, untrammeled by laws or constitutions, in its war on that institution. It was a battle of giants, and after four years of the bloodiest war of modern times, the dogma of secession expired, and four millions of slaves were bidden to go free in the agony of the Nation. The slaves are free, but after forty years of freedom for them, the race question still abides, and God forbid that we, by our other fatal mistakes, should have to settle that question too in another agony of the Nation, bloodier and fiercer, probably, than the first.

But the race problem is one phase of the slavery question. Racial prejudice is not local but earthwide and in its presence reason is dumb, and the race issue is one that probably statesmen cannot settle, but must be ground out in Time's mills in the tears and anguish of the people. Those, that won't reason, must suffer.

What a frightful mistake the statesmen of Missouri made in 1820 in not adopting the gradual emancipation scheme then proposed, and insisting on excepting this State from the operation of the Missouri Compromise Line. I am not much given to speculation on "what might have been," but I hope you will pardon me for saying a word or two on what, it is now apparent to all, would have happened if Missouri had come into the Union in 1820 as a free State. If our State had been made a free State by the terms of her admission into the Union she would have escaped the woes unnumbered which the curse of slavery in after years brought on her; and then what another fatal mistake the Missouri statesmen made in 1854, when they voted unanimously, with the exception of Benton in the House, for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Line. If the mistakes of 1820 and 1854 had not been made, our beloved State would not now have to record in sorrow and in tears the scenes enacted at Camp Jackson, or Springfield, or Osceola,

or Lone Jack, or Palmyra, or Kirksville, or Centralia, or recount the devastations and loss of life along the trail of Price and his army from Pittman's Ferry by way of Pilot Knob, Union, Boonville, Westport and along the Missouri-Kansas line south, and the invasion by Missourians of Kansas Territory to make it a slave State, the tarring and feathering of free State men, the sack of Lawrence, May 21, 1856, the bloody raid of old John Brown in the neighborhood of Dutch Henry's Crossing, May 24, 1856, the raids of Jennison and Montgomery along the Missouri-Kansas border, and the tragedy of the Marais des Cygnes, by all of which the Missourians acquired the name of "Border Ruffians," and Kansans that of "Jayhawkers;" the massacre of Lawrence in 1863 under Quantrell and the depopulation of Bates, Cass and Jackson counties by "Order No. 11" would not have occurred. In that case Missouri would have been in firm and friendly league with Kansas, and together they would have stood shoulder to shoulder in defense of the Union. But these mistakes were made and our western neighbor emerged from a ten years' contest as "Bloody Kansas," and Missouri's soil was drenched in fraternal blood, and at the end of the conflict she found her beautiful hills and plains almost one vast desolation, and the passions of her people wrought up by the bloody strife to white heat. The wounds growing out of these mistakes of our leaders in 1820 and 1854 have been substantially healed, but they bring up many bitter memories yet. The Missouri Compromise Line has long since vanished, but no man can understand American history, and especially Missouri history, without fully understanding the history of the rise and fall of that line. The conflicts growing out of its establishment in the first place, and its abolition in the second place, tinge our whole history. Yes, they have controlled the trend and the outcome of our whole history, but the abolition and not the establishment of that line marked the most portentious epoch in our history.

It is appropriate that I should state, en passant, that an injustice was done both Kansas and Missouri in calling

the citizens of the former indiscriminately "Jayhawkers," and the citizens of the latter "Border Ruffians," for but a few comparatively of the Kansans were "Jayhawkers" and only a small number of the Missourians were "Border Ruffians."

Permit me to suggest that the Kansas struggle and our attitude in the Civil War affected us in one direction, the injurious consequences of which are probably irreparable; that is, owing to the conduct of the Missourians in interfering with the emigration of free State men through our border, the emigrants from the North were diverted from us through Iowa and Nebraska, and I feel sure that if Missouri had been what was termed a true, loyal State during the war, the first Pacific railroad would have traversed our territory instead of that of Iowa, and St. Louis would at once have been the halfway station between the oceans. Prior to the Kansas struggle and the Civil War everything pointed to this result. The Santa Fe and Oregon trails, and the Overland Mail Route to California began in our borders. A convention of delegates from fifteen States held at St. Louis, October 15-17, 1849, recommended a Central Pacific railroad, and this was the dream of Benton when in his speech at that convention he uttered those immortal words, "There is the east, there is the road to India." But while Missourians were engaged in a bloody,internecine strife for the mastery, marching and countermarching her hostile armies over her hills and across her valleys, desolating the homes of the people and bringing pangs of distress to numberless women and children, and death to its best citizens, Chicago seized the prize, and she holds it today. But will Chicago always hold the prize? St. Louis ought to be the commercial metropolis of the great Mississippi basin. Her geographical position entitles her to it, and it was only wrested from her at a time when Missouri lay bleeding at the feet of the War God. Is it too late for St. Louis now to regain what she lost by the mistakes of 1820 and 1854? I cannot answer but I hope.

Conclusion.

What was the result of the fierce controversy, so far as the chief Missouri participants in it, Benton and Atchison, were concerned? Atchison, though the leader of the pro-slavery party, failed to succeed himself in the Senate in 1855-56, and was retired to private life. He died, and the public has almost forgotten him. On the other hand, Benton died April 10, 1858, a political outcast, but in 1895 the Missouri Legislature appropriated money to place life size marble statues of Benton and his pupil and admirer, Francis P. Blair, in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, at Washington, under the Act of Congress, authorizing each State to place in that Hall marble or bronze statues of two of its deceased distinguished citizens, whom it might deem worthy of national commemoration on account of civil or military services. Their statues were placed in that Hall, and by resolution February 4, 1899, they were accepted by Congress, and they were formally accepted by the House on the same day and by the Senate May 19, 1900, by appropriate resolutions and addresses. Thus the State, whose politicians had infused gall and wormwood in the last eight years of Benton's life, forty years after he had "gone to the bourne, whence no traveler returns," rendered him the greatest honor in its power. This posthumous homage, vividly reminds us of that strange freak in our nature that impels us, often, to ostracize a man while he lives and apotheocize him after he is dead.

JOHN L. THOMAS.

BRYANT'S STATION AND ITS FOUNDER WILLIAM BRYANT.

The pioneer Kentucky fort, so long and so widely known in history, in public records, in Court trials and in Court decisions as Bryant's Station, was built in the month of April, 1779. The founder of Bryant's Station and the man from whom it derived its name was William Bryant.

By the evening fireside as a boy, the writer hereof early grew familiar with the history of the station and its founder. It was perhaps but natural that he should listen with delight to the thrilling story regarding the place, because of the fact that his great grandfather was the founder of this farfamed and historic fort. Whatever, therefore, is herein stated, is based not alone upon history, but also upon well established tradition.

The Memorial Proceedings.

Memorial proceedings were held upon the site of this vanished fort in 1896, to do honor to the memory of the pioneer women who, when the station was besieged by the Indians in the month of August, 1782, left the protecting walls of the fort, marched down to the spring around which lay four hundred and fifty savage foes concealed in the weeds and cane, and obtained a sufficient supply of water to enable the men within the fort to withstand the siege of the Indian foe. Articles were contributed by several writers, all of which were prepared for publication by Col. Reuben T. Durrett, of Louisville, President of the Filson Club, and the volume containing these articles is known as Filson Club Publication No. 12.

An account of William Bryant should have occupied a place in this publication. The omission was perhaps due to a lack of definite information regarding him, upon the part of

those who participated in the memorial proceedings. And it was not until some time afterward that descendants of William Bryant, residing in other States, learned of the memorial proceedings.

Col. Durrett, in the address which he delivered gave to the public for the first time, the names of several women and girls who went to the spring for water, thus rescueing after many years their names from undeserved neglect. And to which may now be added the name of Rachel Bryant, wife of William Bryant, the founder and chief defender of the station.

And it is now deemed proper and pertinent that the founder of Bryant's Station, should be specifically pointed out and identified. For while the historians generally have given the name of William Bryant as the founder of the station, there have not been wanting statements on the part of some writers, which, whether intended to be or not, have nevertheless been very misleading, not only to other writers, but also to those interested in collecting and preserving material of an historic character concerning Bryant's Station and its founder.

The time has arrived, however, when before departing further from well established historic facts, the name of the founder of Bryant's Station should be delivered from error and confusion, and placed in its proper light in history free of all misleading statements. The record of such a man is deemed worthy of preservation. Nor is it altogether unimportant that our histories should be free from error and confusion, in order that the reader may with confidence rely upon it that all statements rest upon the foundation stones of fact.

While the history of Bryant's Station, its siege by the Indians in August, 1782, the heroic act of its women in going to the spring for water, and the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks which followed hard upon these other events spreading death and sorrow in its wake, have been told again and again, yet how few there are who know anything of the founder of the station aside from his mere name.

The founder of Bryant's Station has not been sufficiently identified by our historians; or rather, statements have been introduced concerning him, which have been not only inaccu-

rate, but positively misleading, and having the effect only of confusing the reader. No effort has been made so far as I am aware to correct these errors, although it has long been known that they exist, and so far as I am aware no attempt has been made to give to the public a complete and accurate account of the founder of Bryant's Station, by those having knowledge of the facts. And it is with the hope that the same will find some interested readers, and that the future historian will know whereof he speaks when he refers to the founder of Bryant's Station that his narrative has been written.

With reference to the speculation in which some parties have indulged in recent years, induced by some of the misleading statements above referred to, regarding the name of the station, if the reader desires to investigate for himself upon this point, he is respectfully referred to Filson Club Publication No. 12, and particularly to the unbiased statement of facts as therein set forth by Col. Durrett. If further evidence were wanting, however, than that contained in the above named publication, it may be found in two decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, involving title to lands in the neighborhood of Bryant's Station, one rendered in 1816, (1) the other in 1834. (2)

From the first named decision I beg to quote as follows:

"Bryant's Station is a fixed place of public notoriety It is on the great road leading from Lexington to Limestone on the Ohio, which road crosses the dividing ridge between the waters of Elkhorn and Licking, which is the ridge mentioned in Masterson's entry."

I quote another sentence peculiarly applicable in this connection:

"Perplexity and confusion may be introduced, but an object can not be rendered more certain than by bestowing on it its particular and appropriate name, if that name be one of general noteriety."

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1. See Maston v. Hord, U. S. Reports, (Wheaton), Vol. 1, page 130.
2. Garnett v. Jenkins, U. S. Rep. (8 Peters), p. 72.

In the Appendix to Vol. 1, page 491, I find also the following language:

"Noteriety is either absolute or relative. Absolute, as where the object is known so generally, that according to the usual courtesies and intercourse among men, the presumption is irresistible that anyone using ordinary inquiry might have been conducted to the place, as Lexington, Bryant's Station, the Lower Blue Licks, etc. Relative, as where the particular object is not actually known but is ascertainable by reasonable diligence, as one mile east of the lower Blue Licks, etc."

From this decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, it must be apparent to the least discriminating mind that Bryant's Station, was known to be and was recognized as being the particular and appropriate name of the station. How could the place have been rendered more certain, than by bestowing on it its particular and appropriate name? And its particular and appropriate name being Bryant's Station, the particular and appropriate name of its founder could not have been other than Bryant.

In the trial of the cause decided in 1834, the testimony of about twenty-five witnesses was introduced in evidence, some of whom had visited the North fork of the Elkhorn before Bryant's Station was built, and some of whom had resided at the station or in its vicinity thereafter, and the name of the station without exception is given as Bryant's. Without going into detail, I quote from the evidence of two of the witnesses. Patrick Jordon relates that in the year 1780:

"Bryant's Station was a place of general noteriety, and he presumes it is twenty-five or thirty miles above Lecompt's Run."

John Ficklin states that he has been acquainted with Bryant's Station and North Elkhorn ever since 1781:

"Both Bryant's Station and North Elkhorn were places of great noteriety at that time."

From the foregoing it will be seen that Bryant's Station was a place widely known, and it was everywhere recognized that the name of the place was without question Bryant's Station, and in all records of a public or official nature and in all

historical documents, unaffected by error, it was so called. It can easily be understood how, in the miscellaneous correspondence of the day, or in cases wherein the parties in interest may have affected the name, "perplexity and confusion" might be introduced, but such errors can not destroy the unimpeachable record, which must ever afford the best and most credible evidence as to the correct name.

But since it is conceded by all, (3) that the name of the place was Bryant's Station, and since it is likewise conceded that the name of the parties mentioned in Bradford's Notes, and by some other persons, was not Bryant, and the facts conclusively show that they did not use this name, nor were they known by the name of Bryant, all else at once becomes simplified, and errors of every nature may therefore be justly disregarded. And I shall now state such facts regarding the founder of this pioneer fort, whose name was Bryant, as may be deemed pertinent, and shall take no liberties either with names or facts, a practice which should commend itself to every one writing upon historical subjects.

William Bryant.

Dr. Percy Bryant, of Buffalo, N. Y., has told us that "The name Bryant can be traced back to Sir Guy De Briant, who lived in the time of Edward III, and whose descendants had their seat at the castle of Hereford in the marches of Wales. Arms: The field is Or, three piles meeting near in the base of the Escutcheon, Azure. No connection has been established between this family and the first of the name who came to America with the early settlers of Plymouth Colony, but this will probably be accomplished when the effort is made." (4)

According to well established tradition, William Bryant, of Bryant's Station, accompanied by a brother named Benjamin Bryant, came from Wales to the shores of the New World

3. Filson Club Pub. No. 12, page 21, note (Durrett).
Filson Club Pub. No. 12, page 72, note (Ranck).
4. New Eng. Hist. & Geneaological Index, Vol. XLVIII, page 46.

in 1764, while they were young men. William Bryant settled in North Carolina in the region of the upper Yadkin river, while his brother chose Virginia for his adopted state. In this region William Bryant lived for several years, married and acquired property, and here he became acquainted with the Boones, Bryans, Wilcoxes, Callaways and other pioneer families in that section of the country. Being near the same age as Daniel Boone, the two became warm friends, and the friendship thus begun on the frontier of North Carolina, continued throughout the remainder of their lives.

Boone and Bryant Visit Kentucky.

Some time prior to the year 1775, two men wandering out from the settlements on the Yadkin River in North Carolina, penetrated the region of Kentucky as far as the North fork Elkhorn Creek. Here they made a camp, hunted and explored the country for several weeks, then breaking up their camp returned to the settlements on the Yadkin. They were Daniel Boone and William Bryant. Both were destined to become historic characters on account of their connection with the early settlements of Kentucky. Boone on account of his many daring deeds and thrilling adventures, has been justly celebrated by the historians of the border. While it did not fall to the lot of William Bryant to particularly engage the pen of the historian, and while his life was not so filled with adventure as was that of Boone, nevertheless he was a conspicuous actor in several important events and had a wide and varied experience, and his name is inseparably linked with the early settlement of Kentucky and Missouri, and his name is to be found upon the pages of history in the States named.

During the progress of the Revolutionary War, William Bryant joined the Continental forces and served for a time in the War for Independence. And while serving as such soldier he was captured by the British, and was placed on board a prison ship in Charleston harbor. One night he dropped silently into the waters of the harbor, swam ashore and returned to the American lines in safety. It is said that his brother

united his fortunes with the Tories, and I have no further account of him or of his descendants, if he had any.

Early in the year 1779, William Bryant led a party of emigrants into the wilderness of Kentucky for the purpose of securing land under the law of Virginia which opened Kentucky to settlement. Stopping at Boonesborough on the way they obtained some needed supplies, and then continued their journey, halting at length at a point about five miles northeast of Lexington, where they erected and fortified a number of cabins, and the place was from that time forth known as Bryant's Station, in honor of the leader of the party; it being the usual custom in the early days of Kentucky, to name the stations after their most conspicuous man. And as Harrodsburgh and Boonesborough, had derived their names from their respective founders James Harrod and Daniel Boone, so also Bryant's Station derived its name from its founder, William Bryant.

Col. Cave Johnson in his Autobiography (5) states that in 1779, while he and Wm. Tomlinson were on their way from Virginia to Kentucky, they met on the Cumberland River this party of emigrants. He and Tomlinson joined the emigrant party and for greater safety and convenience journeyed with them to the North fork of Elkhorn Creek, and assisted in building the first cabins of Bryant's Station.

I have already stated that William Bryant was a soldier of the Revolutionary War. I have been unable to learn from the records at Washington, D. C., that he ever applied for or was granted a pension for such services. From the records of soldiers who served in the war, however, at Raleigh, N. C., I have found his record of service. Following is an extract from a letter from the Secretary of State of the State of North Carolina, addressed to the writer hereof, dated Oct. 9, 1906:

"Replying to your letter of recent date, I beg to say that I find in the Colonial Records copied from the records (of soldiers who served in the Revolutionary War) in Philadelphia, the following: Wm. Bryant, Pt. Blounts Company; date of

5. Autobiography of Cave Johnson MS. in possession of Col. R. T. Durrett, Louisville.

commission or enlistment, 26 Apr. '78; period of service 2 1-4 years; omtd. in 1779."

From the foregoing it will be seen that to April, 1779, William Bryant had served for practically a year in the Revolutionary War, his services being omitted in 1779, while he was in Kentucky. And as he served all told two and one-fourth years, it will be seen that after having been in Kentucky for a year, he then returned to North Carolina, where he served an additional one and a fourth years in the War.

At the close of the War he returned to Kentucky with his wife to remain permanently. The reason for his return to North Carolina is accounted for from the following facts:

The land commissioners who held their Court at Bryant's Station in 1780 to adjust settlers' and improvers' rights to lands, found that the title to the land on which the station was built belonged to another (Col. Wm. Preston), and William Bryant, much to his regret no doubt, was compelled to relinquish the land upon which he had settled, and which he had previously explored in company with Boone; and on the 20th of May, 1780, he entered other land in the usual way.

Hunting Expedition of May, 1780.

It was about this time also, that an event occurred which perhaps furnishes the real reason why Wm. Bryant returned to North Carolina; for in truth the event referred to well nigh caused the abandonment of Bryant's Station. From the first, the Indians had constantly harassed the settlers, committing all manner of depredations. No one could go outside the walls of the fort without great risk of being fired upon by the skulking foe, and the cattle, hogs and other stock of the settlers were almost daily being butchered or stolen from them by the Indians. So troublesome and daring had they become that, in order to procure meat for the station, which was obtained by hunting, for the woods abounded with game, the settlers were compelled to hunt in parties of sufficient number to be able to defend themselves against any assault which might be made by the Indians.

One afternoon during the latter part of May 1780, (6) twelve mounted men left the fort on a hunting expedition down Elkhorn Creek, led by William Bryant. When they arrived in the hunting woods near where Georgetown now stands, they determined in order to cover as wide a scope of country as possible, to divide themselves into three parties. (7) One of these parties was under the immediate direction of William Bryant; another of the parties appears to have been acting under the direction of James Hogan. It does not definitely appear who led the third party. Hogan's party was to cross the Elkhorn and range down the North side, while the other two parties were to range down the South side, flanking out as much as possible, but the three parties were to meet at night at the mouth of Cane Run of North Elkhorn, and encamp together during the night. William Bryant and his men arrived safely at the place agreed upon. The other parties however were less fortunate. Hogan's party having traveled but a short distance after crossing the Elkhorn, heard a loud voice in their rear calling upon them to halt. Hastily looking back, they found that they were being pursued by a war party of Indians, and not being in condition to give battle, being uncertain as to the number of the enemy, they immediately began endeavoring to effect an escape, being closely pursued by the Indians. They finally outdistanced the savages, however, recrossed the Elkhorn near sundown, and returned to Bryant's Station. It appears that the third party of hunters also, soon after separating from the other parties were set upon by a party of Indians some twelve or fourteen in number, and this party also retreated, and succeeded in getting off without being fired upon, and they, too, retraced their steps to Bryant's Station.

On the following morning, Hogan now re-enforced by twelve or fifteen men, left the fort before daylight and went in search of William Bryant and his men. They traveled

6. Autobiography of Cave Johnson, MS.

7. Several writers have made it appear that the hunters were divided into but two parties. This and other errors appear to have originated in Bradford's Notes.

down the Elkhorn in the direction of the mouth of Cane Run, and when within a mile or so of the place, they heard the report of several guns in quick succession. Concluding that Bryant and his men were either engaged in a battle with the Indians, or had fallen upon a herd of buffaloes, Hogan and his men hastened forward to lend their aid in either event. They arrived too late, however, to avert disaster. The Indians who had on the previous day captured a pack horse which had been abandoned by Hogan and his men in their flight, had made use of this animal to draw William Bryant into an ambuscade.

William Bryant and his men who had been hunting on the previous day, soon after starting out on the morning following to renew the chase, heard the sound of a bell on the pack horse, which they immediately recognized. Not knowing what this circumstance meant, and not understanding why the other parties had not joined him the night before as agreed, Bryant now directed his three companions to remain where they were, while he should cross an intervening creek to the horse and ascertain what this circumstance meant. He had approached within a short distance of the animal, when suddenly and without warning, he was fired upon by a party of Indians in a canebrake near by and was severely wounded. Although his wounds were exceedingly painful and severe, he immediately set spurs to his horse, succeeded in eluding the Indians and returned to Bryant's Station where he arrived early in the day. (8)

Hogan and his men soon arrived upon the scene, encountered the Indians and a battle ensued, lasting some thirty minutes. They at length compelled the Indians to retreat, however, with the loss of one Indian killed and scalped, and several others wounded who effected their escape. Hogan and his men had fared but little better; for upon returning from the pursuit of the Indians, they found one of their own number where he had fallen, mortally wounded. He was taken on to the station where he expired soon afterward. Four others were also wounded, though none mortally.

8. McClung, page 169.

Some writers have made it appear that William Bryant was killed in this hunting expedition. One of them, referring to the station at the date of its siege by the Indians, says: (9)

"There were at that time but few families occupying the station, William Bryant, its founder, and one in whose judgment, skill and courage, many confidently reposed for security from savage enormity, had been unfortunately discovered by some Indians near the mouth of Cane Run, and killed. His death caused most of those who had come to that place from North Carolina, to forsake the station, and return to their own country."

The statement that William Bryant was killed in this hunting expedition, is absolutely incorrect and without foundation in fact. As we have already seen, he was severely wounded, but his injuries at the hands of the Indians were not fatal. It was doubtless true, however, that his wounds, which rendered him unfit for service during the summer of 1780, together with the loss of the land on which the station was built, caused him to return to North Carolina, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that many of the more timid settlers felt justified in abandoning the place when deprived of the services of their chief defender.

The error as to his having been killed, no doubt had its origin in a series of articles which appeared in the Kentucky Gazette in 1826, (10) and subsequent years, nearly fifty years after the event occurred, and several years after William Bryant had removed from the State of Kentucky. The articles referred to are not more accurate than many other newspaper articles, published under similar circumstances. (11)

It would appear that the object sought by Bradford in his account of Bryant's Station and the hunting expedition of May, 1780, was not attained. For instead of converting the name of the place, which was evidently his purpose, so thor-

9. Chronicles of Border Warfare, by Withers, (New Edition) p. 348.
10. Bradford's Notes.
11. In Filson Club Pub. No. 12, Mr. G. W. Ranck merely reiterates, with certain material alterations, Bradford's statements.

oughly was it established in history and in all public records that the name of the place was Bryant's Station, and so well was it understood that the name of its founder was William Bryant, subsequent writers knew as a matter of course that he meant Bryant's Station, and they accordingly continued to so call it. And they likewise naturally supposed that the name of the parties mentioned by him must be, therefore, "Bryant also," and they erroneously called them Bryant. And by a similar parity of reasoning, they naturally supposed that the party particularly referred to by him, who had been killed by the Indians, and whose name was similar to that of William Bryant, was William Bryant, and being thus unwittingly misled they gave to the public the error that William Bryant, the founder of Bryant's Station had been killed by the Indians while on a hunting expedition. (12)

The man who received his mortal wounds in the battle between Hogan's men and the Indians was probably a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone (13) and who had entered land in the vicinity of Bryant's Station at an early day.

If Bradford had not disregarded certain well established historic facts; if he had stated all the facts relative to the founding of Bryant's Station, or if his account of the hunting expedition had contained a correct statement of the facts, there would indeed have been small ground upon which any errors regarding William Bryant might have been based, and confusion would have been avoided. The errors alluded to however may now be dispensed with, and without doing violence to the facts.

The well established tradition, with which I have been familiar since early youth, that William Bryant while leading out a hunting party from Bryant's Station, was drawn into an ambuscade by the Indians and was fired upon and wounded, but that he escaped and returned to the station, substantially corroborated by Col. Cave Johnson in his Autobiography, I do not feel disposed to reject as being without foundation in fact,

12. Sketches of Western Adventure, by McClung, page 166.
13. Chronicles of Border Warfare, by Withers, page 348.

upon the statement of any one. Nor do I believe that he meant any else than William Bryant, in stating that William Bryant was so wounded. Col. Johnson himself took part in the hunting expedition, and was personally acquainted with the parties, and would have been as likely to know the correct name of the leader of this hunting expedition, and who he states was "the head and principle man of the families and station," quite as well as any one. Nor does he say that William Bryant was killed, or that he was mortally wounded. If there is any ambiguity in his account of the expedition, it is regarding the man who was mortally wounded in the fight which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians, and at a time subsequent to the wounding of William Bryant and his return to Bryant's Station.

By reason of experience, courage and sagacity, and circumstances in life, William Bryant was the natural leader of the early inhabitants of Bryant's Station, and he was so regarded. A man of dauntless courage and splendid physique, (14) he was the one man above all others to whom the settlers most confidently looked for defense against the assaults of the Indians. During these early times he took a very active part in several engagements with the Indians, holding the rank of Captain under command of Cols. Todd and Boone. As already stated, he had returned to Kentucky at the close of the Revolutionary struggle, and had again taken up his residence at the fort. When the station was besieged by the Indian foe under command of Cols. Caldwell and McKee, aided and abetted by the infamous Simon Girty, he was one of the most active and vigilant of the defenders, if not actually in command of the fort, and was wounded in the assault upon the garrison, which disabled him to such an extent that he was not a participant in the battle of the Blue Licks which followed.

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14. Mr. J. M. Bryant, of Cedar City, Mo., who was born in Estill county, Ky., March 10, 1825, retains a distinct recollection of his grandfather, William Bryant. He states that Wm. Bryant was about five feet ten inches in height and was heavily built. He bore across his nose and face a heavy scar, the result of a blow inflicted by an Indian tomahawk in a battle with the Indians. He also had several scars on his person received in encounters with the Indians.

William Bryant's wife was a near relative of Daniel Boone. I am unable to state the exact relationship, but the tradition is well established that she was related to Boone, and I have no doubt of its authenticity. Her name was Rachel Wilcox, and it is likely she was a daughter of John Wilcox, who married in North Carolina a sister of Boone. It is of course well known that Boone married Rebecca Bryan. Although of similar name, she was not related to William Bryant. Eight children, six sons and two daughters, were born to Wm. and Rachel Bryant.

I have no means of knowing how long William Bryant remained at Bryant's Station, but no doubt he resided there until Indian hostilities had subsided sufficiently to permit of the settlers moving onto the lands they had located and entered. The family removed to what is now known as Estill county. Three of the older sons, and probably the eldest daughter, were married in this county, and each of these three sons, Jeremiah, (15) Hiram and Thomas, (16) owned land in Estill County

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15. Jeremiah Bryant, the eldest son, was born Aug. 20, 1791. He married Martha Plummer. Ten children were born to them as follows: Rachel, 1814; Christina, 1816; Susan, 1818; Crayton P., 1821; Cornelia, 1823; Jeremiah M., 1825; Martha, 1826; America, 1829; Amanda, 1831; Sarah T., 1833. Jeremiah Bryant, with his family removed from Kentucky to Missouri in 1832. In 1834 he returned to Kentucky on business, and on his return trip to Missouri he contracted the cholera and died on board a steamer on the Missouri River, July 11, and his remains were sunk beneath the waters of the Missouri. Some of his descendants yet remain in Callaway County, where he settled.

16. Thomas Bryant, the fourth child, was born January 10th, 1795. He married Polly Bennett in Estill County, Ky., December 11th, 1817, the marriage ceremony being performed by Joseph Proctor, who was a pioneer Methodist preacher and most courageous Indian fighter. Proctor participated in and was one of the survivors of Estill's defeat. He shot and killed the Indian who killed Captain Estill, and rescued William Irvine who was badly wounded, "after the most desperate and gallant exertions," conveying him to Bryant's Station where he made known the result of the sanguinary and disastrous conflict. Polly Bennett was a daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Proctor) Bennett, her mother being a sister of Joseph Proctor. The children of Thomas Bryant and wife were as follows: Jeremiah, 1818, died young; William, 1821; Joshua, 1823; Rachel, 1825; these were born in Estill County; Benjamin, 1827; Andrew Jackson, 1830; Lucretia, 1832; Deborah, 1835; Elvira, 1837; the latter were born in Clay County, Ky. In 1837, Thomas Bryant,

between the years 1825 and 1832. All the children with the exception of Hiram and Rachel sooner or later removed to Missouri, Thomas Bryant, grandfather of the writer hereof being the last to leave Kentucky in 1837.

William Bryant was a prosperous planter, owning a large amount of property, among which may be mentioned some sixty colored persons.

"First Runaway Slave Advertised North of the Ohio River. (17). March 22nd, 1794, Wm. Bryant, of Lincoln County, Ky., advertised a runaway negro, Sam, and offered $10 reward for securing him so that his owner should have him again." (18)

Part of the present County of Estill formerly lay within the original County of Lincoln, and part of it within the original County of Fayette.

Kentucky's strenuous days were drawing to a close. The wilderness had been subdued, and for several years William Bryant lived quietly upon his farm, devoting his time to the cultivation of the soil. But many of his old time friends were either dead or had pushed still further westward, where the

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being in poor health, removed with his family to Boone County, Mo., where he remained about two years, when he removed to Ripley County, where he died Sept. 5th, 1845. In 1846, his family removed to Wapello County, Iowa. Of the sons of Thomas Bryant, William was a soldier in the Mexican War, serving in a Missouri regiment; Benjamin Bryant, was a soldier in the War of the Rebellion, serving in Company B, 30th Iowa Vol. Infantry, and was honorably discharged on account of disability. He died Feb. 15th, 1902. He was a man of great moral and physical courage. Being an orator of much ability, he was prominent in the anti-slavery agitation, and long a leader in politics in his section of the country. Disease of eyes, throat and lungs contracted in the Civil War, greatly impaired his usefulness and activity, and in a great measure prevented his attaining eminence he might easily have done. He married in Shannon County, Missouri, Rachel Chilton, daughter of John and Lettice Carter Chilton, August 3, 1846, and they soon removed to Wapello County, Iowa, and later to Davis County. Twelve children were born to them, nine of whom attained to manhood and womanhood, as follows: Francis Asbury, 1851; Andrew Jackson, 1853; James Chilton, 1855; Lucy, (Mrs. M. M. Ralston,) 1858; Benjamin Bassett, 1860; Theodore Finis, 1862; William Cullen, 1865; John Carter Inman, 1868; Thomas Julian, 1873.

17. History of Kentucky, by R. H. Collins, Vol. 2, page 113.

18. In his last will he bequeathed certain negroes to some of his children.

population was less dense and where land could still be had for the asking. Daniel Boone and his family were among the number of those who had thus sought out a new home beyond the Mississippi, in the Territory of Louisiana. When Boone returned to Kentucky about the year 1810, on a mission which was highly creditable to him, what could have been more natural than that he should seek out his friend and former companion, who though advanced in years like himself, was still hale and vigorous, and pour into his willing ear the story of the new country which was not unlike the Kentucky of early days.

Missouri was soon to be formed into a Territory, and Statehood was only a matter of time. Wm. Bryant soon resolved that when the time should seem propitious, he too, would take up his residence in this new country. Having disposed of such of his property as he did not wish to carry with him, he with his wife and the younger members of the family, took up the line of march and in due time they reached the Territory of Missouri, first settling upon the waters of Femme Osage, not far from the Boone settlement. (19) And thus again Daniel Boone and William Bryant had become pioneers Within a year or so after reaching their new home, Bryant's wife who had been a true and faithful companion for many years passed away. Most of his children having by this time established homes of their own, he was left practically alone in the world. About this time he returned to Kentucky, where he and his son Hiram Bryant, shortly became involved in litigation (20) over some land they were occupying, and it appears that a judgment in ejectment was rendered against them in 1818, and soon thereafter he returned to Missouri, which was to be his home for the future, and whose soil was finally to receive his remains.

Upon the subsequent events of his life, his second marriage at an advanced age, the loss of a considerable portion of his property, and other events, it is not my purpose here to

19. History of Missouri, by Louis Houck.
20. Lessees of Samuel Smith vs. Robert Trabue's Heirs, U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 9 Peters, page 4.

dwell. To the end, he was the same independent and courageous man that he had been in the earlier days, when with such men as Daniel Boone he was helping subdue the wilderness of Kentucky, not inclined to indulge in the exploitation of the stirring scenes through which he had passed, or of the part he had taken in them; and with character by no "foul dishonor" sullied, he rounded out the measure of a long and active life.

A few words more, and our narrative is finished.

About a year after the death of his friend, Col. Boone, William Bryant (1821) removed to Boone County, Mo., (21) where he resided until the date of his death, which occurred in 1834, at the advanced age of ninety-five years.

And today in an old neglected cemetery, on a high hill overlooking the Missouri River as it rolls to join the "Father of Waters," and near the site of the vanished town of Stonesport, (22) in the County bearing the name of his friend of many years, rest the remains of William Bryant, (23) soldier of the Revolutionary War, founder of the pioneer Kentucky fort known in history as Bryant's Station, founder of a family in the New World, and compatriot and friend of the celebrated Daniel Boone.

I shall never cease to be mindful of the fact that I trace my lineage to Kentucky sires, who have done their full share toward spreading civilization in the Western World, but who have neither sought to magnify their own achievements nor

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21. The early records of Boone County, show conveyances of land by certain grantors to William **Briant.** (See Deed Record F, page 4.) On the margin of Deed Record A, page 292, is the following: "**Wm. Briant's** last will and testament, Aug. 1, 1824." In conveying lands, however, his signature appears as William Bryant, and his name is so given in the record and on the original will. (See Deed Record C, page 266; Deed Record E, page 397.)

Singularly enough, John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky in the so-called Autobiography of Daniel Boone, published in 1784, fell into the same error regarding the spelling of the name, and in referring to Bryant's Station he called it "**Briant's Station.**" The error was corrected, however, by the subsequent historians.

22. Stonesport was located about a mile up the River from the present village of Claysville.

23. A large cottonwood tree stands at the head of William Bryant's grave.

underrate the deeds of others; and shall ever hold in grateful remembrance the name of him who with strong hands carved a name imperishable in history. I esteem beyond expression, all those brave heroic souls, both men and women, who in the face of untold hardship and peril wrested the soil of the "Dark and Bloody Ground" from the hands of its savage possessors, and gave to the sisterhood of States the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

THOMAS JULIAN BRYANT.

Red Oak, Iowa.

A GERMAN COMMUNISTIC SOCIETY IN MISSOURI.

The last decades of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries were marked by concentrated action on the part of various organizations to establish communistic settlements. A great number of these attempts were made in the United States. The Shakers, the Harmonists, the Separatists of Zoar, the Perfectionists, the Communities of Robert Owen and Brook Farm are but a few of the leading communistic attempts of this period. In a number of these unique religious principles obtained and formed the bond of union between its members. Others again were held together by constitutional agreement for the sole purpose of economic betterment. Still others had for their aim the communion of highminded and highly intellectual individuals who sought the association of kindred minds, and who under the idyllic conditions of communal life hoped for an amelioration of conditions intellectual and spiritual.

Among the minor communities is classed the one at Bethel in Shelby County, Missouri. In some respects this society is unique. It existed from 1844 to 1879, without the semblance of a constitutional agreement. It had no peculiar dress, nor singular customs. The sole bond of union was the magnetic power and iron will of its founder. In a measure it may be said that its purpose was to carry out the whim of its founder and leader, but many of its members joined because they foresaw an immediate betterment of economic conditions. Its constituency, with the exception of a very few persons, consisted of Germans, who had either come directly from the Fatherland, or who had already become naturalized in the various parts of the United States. Nordhoff in his work: "Communistic Societies in the United States," page 319, says that several Protestant sects were represented, that there was even one

Jew, but no Roman Catholics. (1) The site of the colony was on North River in Shelby County, Missouri, forty-eight miles from Hannibal.

Its organization took place in 1844 and the body remained intact until 1879 or shortly after the death of its founder—Doctor William Keil. Soon after the settlement was established in Shelby County, 3536 acres of land were purchased or entered near the present site of Bethel. This town became the center of activity. Other groups of houses near Bethel received the names of Elim, Hebron and Mamri. In Adair County, not far from Kirksville, 731 acres of land were acquired and the town there established received the name of Nineveh. (2) In 1855, for reasons hereafter to be discussed, it was decided to divide the society, a large number of its members following Dr. Keil to Washington Territory, and later to Oregon Territory. Thus an unique condition in communistic life came about in that two bodies of people, so far separated as the State of Missouri and the Territory of Oregon, could be controlled by one head, at a time when communication was slow and difficult, and all this too with a body that was not held together by any written agreement. As stated previously, the singularly powerful will of Keil was the force that held this society intact. When this force disappeared by Keil's death, and no successor appeared strong enough to rule, the natural result was a dissolution of the organization, and a division of the acquired property. The dissolution is itself strikingly interesting, in that it was affected in the simplest manner possible and with very little friction.

Since the whole life of the society—as was pointed out already—was concentrated in the iron, indomitable will of William Keil, it will be necessary to preface the more detailed account of this study by a consideration of his life

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1. This statement of Nordhoff's applies directly to the Aurora, Oregon, settlement which was the daughter colony of the Bethel, Missouri, colony, as will be discussed in detail later on. But all of the members at Aurora had been members at Bethel or were their direct descendants, hence the statement may be regarded as applicable to the Missouri community also.
2. Now it is called Connelsville.

and activity. I base my account of Keil's life on: 1. A mass of letters written by himself to members of the society at Bethel; 2. On statements of trustworthy persons at Bethel, Missouri, and Aurora, Oregon,—not only those who praise Keil but also those who defame him,—and 3. On brief accounts found in the various histories of communistic life in this country, but especially on the account of the early years of Keil's life, as found in a rare and odd book by a clergyman, Carl G. Koch, who at one time was an ardent adherent to Keil's views, entitled: "Lebenserfahrungen," printed 1871 in Cleveland, Ohio, in the Verlagshaus der Evangelishen Gemeinschaft.

Of Keil's early life we have no further record than that he was born on the sixth of March 1811 in Bleicherode, District of Erfurt, Prussia. His parents were German, and seem to have been of the middle class. (3) It goes without saying that he must have attended the elementary schools of his town. There is no record of his attending a technical school or university. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether he was legally entitled to the title of Doctor, altho he is said to have practiced medicine in this country with apparent success. In his home country he followed the profession of man-milliner. He practiced his trade in Koellede, District of Merseburg, Prussia. He is said to have been very handsome in his youth and a most excellent workman and very industrious. Nordhoff gives us a picture of the man as he saw him in this country. (4) He describes him as a "short, burly man, with blue eyes, whitish hair and white beard." Nordhoff continues: "He seemed excitable and somewhat suspicious; gave no token whatever of having studied any book but the Bible, and that only as it helped him to enforce his own philosophy. He was very quick to turn every thought toward the one subject of community life; took his illustrations mostly

3. The statement of Hinds, in his "American Communities," page 287, in which he states that Keil was born in Nordhausen, Germany, is, according to the best sources, fallacious.

4. "Communistic Societies in the U. S.," page 318.

from the New Testament; and evidently laid much stress on the parental character of God. As he discussed, his eyes lighted up with a somewhat fierce fire; and I thought I could perceive a fanatic, certainly a person of very determined, imperious will united to a narrow creed." I have been fortunate in securing from Jacob G. Miller of Aurora, Oregon, who was one of the leaders at Bethel, a large number of letters from Dr. Keil to the remaining members at Bethel. Most of these letters were written by his secretary, Karl Ruge, a college bred man, and are in fairly good style. Those written by himself are wretched illustrations of letter writing and show a most imperfect knowledge of his own language. His pictures show him as a man with broad and high forehead, rather thick nose and a square chin—in other words, the type of a strong animal with indomitable will and bull-dog tenacity.

It seems to be the prerogative of men of Keil's profession to be moody. Their work does not absorb their mental energy completely, and so they are frequently found to be the possessors of the most fanciful notions. Keil's pet inclination was first the stage. This did not prevail long, however. Soon he became a religious enthusiast and subsequently a devotee of such mystics as Jacob Boehme and his followers. He now began an investigation for an "Universalmedizin," a panacea which should heal all the ails the human flesh is heir to. This whim led him to a superficial study of botany, and in his fanciful search he no doubt got some smattering ideas of medicine. He made innumerable experiments to solve the laws of nature and to probe into the mystery of life. His queer experiments he continued even after he came to this country. Koch asserts that Keil showed him a flask in his (Keil's) drug store in Pittsburg, Pa., which contained a fluid which Keil purported to represent the product of his long investigation. He claimed to be in possession of mysterious cures which he avowed to have received from an old woman It is said that this person would not have parted with these secrets under any consideration, provided he did not leave the country. Thus

Keil came in possession of these secrets before he came to the United States. Most probably these mysterious secrets were powwowing formulae, of which so many exist in certain parts of Germany, and so many of which are to this day found among the inhabitants, particularly the Germans, of Pennsylvania.

The exact date of Keil's coming to America is not positively fixed. It is very probable, however, that it was in 1835 or 36. He lived for a short time in New York City and then came to Pittsburg. Soon after his arrival in Pittsburg, he performed some strange cures, as it seems, somewhat in the manner of our modern magnetic healers, and was soon dubbed with the unsavory title of "Der Hexendokter," by the common people.

In 1838 Dr. William Nast, the founder of the German Methodist Church, conducted revival meetings in Pittsburg. Keil attended these meetings and became converted. Soon after his religious awakening, he met the Reverend J. Martin Hartmann, whom he claimed as his real spiritual father. This Hartmann was deeply interested in the principles of communism, and it is very probable that he augmented, if he did not give the initiative to Keil's closer consideration of Community life. At a Quarterly Meeting held October 12th, 1839, at Stewardstown, Pennsylvania, he was licensed as local preacher, having previously shown much enthusiasm in religious work as Class leader. It is stated, however, that this license was never formally issued. The first field of church activity for Keil as local preacher was at Deer Creek, near Pittsburg. Dr. Nast, in an interview with Koch, stated that in his opinion Keil seemed perfectly sincere in his conversion, and that at the outset of his ministerial career he was deeply concerned and eager to do good. For Keil the period of probation which the church imposed on him, as it does on all who come under its ruling, was extremely irksome, and frequent and urgent were his appeals to be given full charge of a congregation. Dr. Nast adds a queer story, in which he states that Keil was possessor of a mysterious book, written for the most

part in blood, and which contained all sorts of mystic symbols and formulae, unintelligible to any one but Keil. These secrets were nothing more, I take it, than the pow-wowing formulae which had been communicated to Keil by the old woman above mentioned. After his conversion Keil invited Nast and several brethren to witness the burning of this mysterious book which was regarded as the work of the devil. The destruction of the old volume took place amid certain ceremonies and prayer. Hartmann is said to have humored Keil in his pet notions concerning religions, and to have stimulated him in his striving to ascend faster than the church usually permits its servants to rise. Thus encouraged and humored Keil soon became unruly. He rebelled against the church and its tenets. Then came his separation from the Methodist Episcopal Church. He avowed that he could not work in a church where men served God for pay. He adhered to the Biblical injunction: "Freely ye have received, freely give." He was opposed to Hartmann receiving $400 from the missionary fund and certain stipulated sums of "Classmoney" as salary. When Keil's superiors waived these objections, he withdrew from the church, taking the entire congregation at Deer Creek with him. Thus Keil early demonstrated that he could not obey, that he had to rule. He gave up his medical practice entirely and devoted himself to independent preaching. He had no income, save what his members saw fit to voluntarily give him. The work as independent preacher circumscribed his field of activity too much, however, so he joined the Protestant Methodist Church. The entire congregation at Deer Creek again followed him blindly. Now he extended his work into the "Point," that is the lower part of Pittsburg, where he made many converts among the iron-workers and factory employes. Refusing to obey the superiors of the Protestant Methodist Church, its head, the Reverend Geissinger saw himself compelled to exclude him from this body. With Keil the entire congregation again severed their connection with the church. Keil continued to de-

nounce all ministerial service for pay as un-Christian; all sectarianism, all church regulation as the work of human hands and unessential to the moral teachings of Christianity. He renounced all title save that of Christian; accepted no rule save the admonitions given in the Bible. To serve Christ, not man, he claimed his sole aim. To act according to the Golden Rule; to live a moral pure life was the gist of his teaching. His whole congregation accepted these views implicitly and devotedly clung to him as their leader.

All this had transpired in rapid succession before 1840. Those who have heard Keil's preaching still assert that he was a forceful and fluent speaker. Believing him to be sincere they clung to him lovingly and devotedly, and spread his fame among those with whom they came in contact. Soon his fame extended to regions far removed from Pittsburg. Among his ardent followers were young men of talent and the gift of speech. Foremost among these were Karl G. Koch, the same who wrote "Lebensurfahrungen," and three brothers; Christian, Andrew and Henry Geisy, as it is seen from the names, all Germans. The entire body of Keil's adherents at this time was composed of Germans. The young men whose names were given above, Keil sent out to preach his views among the Germans in the various parts of this country. They traveled for the most part on foot, preaching, in accordance with Keil's teaching, without money and without price, in the settlements of Germans, wherever they could get a hearing. They preached in private houses and in school buildings, and lodged with such persons in whom Keil's views seemed to find fruitful ground. Disdaining to adhere to any established creed, they followed their leader in taking as the cornerstone of their spiritual edifice the teachings of the Apostolic Fathers. Rapidly the work spread until it extended thru western Pennsylvania, southern Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana, Kentucky, even to Iowa, where in Bloomington, (now Muscatine) and Iowa City, and other places small groups of the "faithful" assembled. In Ohio the influence extended thru the counties of Columbiana, Stark, Trumbull, Monroe and Washington. Sometimes Keil would follow the course his

disciples had taken and strive to bring to a culmination the work they had begun and fostered. More and more Keil was regarded as an extraordinary man, and those outside of his magnetic influence assert, even today, that he regarded himself as such. His former love for the mystics asserted itself in him again. He preached in the manner of Jacob Boehm and charged his deputies to do the same. His unsophisticated followers stood aghast before this unheard-of wisdom. Moreover Keil knew how to perplex them by telling them that he had visions. The book of Daniel and the book of Revelations afforded him many a favorite text. Sometimes he perverted the text completely if his purpose was thereby the better accomplished. One time he is said to have made the startling assertion that on a certain day he would be publicly sacrificed. Throngs of people arrived to view the spectacle, some curious, some deeply concerned. Of course no untoward thing befell him. The explanation was simple enough for him—the Lord still had a mission for him to fulfill. Persons outside the pale of his influence believed that his followers worshiped Keil more than Christ. In fact it is vouched that women, carried away by his preaching and entering into a peculiar hypnotic state, cried out: "Thou art Christ." At my last visit to Bethel, I met a man who himself had been a member of the community. who made the statement that Keil's wife, (whose maiden name, by the way, was Ritter), called on the speaker's father who had refused to join the society,—having known Keil in Germany and doubting his supernatural gifts,—and that Mrs. Keil, in the heat of the argument, made the startling assertion that her husband was as great as Christ himself. To such laudations Keil is said to have remained silent. The devotion of Keil's followers was certainly great and his influence over them grew from day to day. Keil knew well how to make use of all the demonstrations of loyalty they might bring him. After some time young Koch could not share Keil's views any longer and he frankly told him so. Keil used all the argumentative power at his command to hold him under his control, for he feared that

Koch had a strong influence. The latter withdrew, however, and sought in every way to enlighten the people in regard to his opinion of Keil. But very few paid any heed to his admonitions. The other preachers remained faithful to Keil. Keil designated himself as the "Centralsonne," central sun, and the leading subordinates received the title of "Lichtfuersten" and "Lichtfuerstinnen," princes and princesses of light.

At Phillipsburg, 28 miles below Pittsburg, on the Ohio River, a large body of Keil's followers lived. This town will be of interest to us in this study, as here the project of Keil's Community took definite form.

In 1805 George Rapp had established the famous Harmony Society---one of the largest communistic undertakings in the United States. (5) This society existed at Economy, Pa., only a few miles from Phillipsburg. In 1831 the visionary Bernhard Mueller, better known in the studies of communistic societies by the high-sounding title of Count Maximilian de Leon, arrived with a body of followers at Economy, and was admitted by Rapp into the Harmony Society. (6) Mueller caused trouble by preaching, to the younger generation, at Economy especially, the doctrine of greater personal liberty, and especially the right to live in the married state,—a privilege which the Harmony Society, according to the celibacy clause of its constitution, forbade It soon became necessary for Rapp to take a determined stand. A vote was taken, and 176 persons who had been members of the society followed Count de Leon. (7) An indemnity was paid to the seceding members. After this separation Mueller and his followers betook themselves to Phillippsburg, where he established a colony on communistic principles, barring the celibacy provision and other strict rules of the Rapp Colony. After a short time Mueller was

5. John Bole's "The Harmony Society," International Press, Philadelphia.

6. Nordhoff's "Communistic Societies in the United States," pages 79 and 80; also Koch "Lebenserfahrungen," p. 129 ff; Bole's "The Harmony Society," p. 124 ff.

7. Cf. Bole's "The Harmony Society," p. 125.

entrapped in fraudulence and was compelled to flee to Arkansas, where a few of his adherents followed him. A large portion of his old charge remained in Phillippsburg. Despite the disastrous experience, which they had had with two communistic societies, many of them regarded communistic life as the only ideal way of living. They maintained that all that was necessary, was a leader of strong personality and undoubted integrity. In Keil they saw the ideal leader for such an undertaking. No doubt Keil himself was not very reluctant either, and so the beginning was made for the society which I wish to discuss. Here Keil foresaw such a chance to rule as he had never had before. The former members of the disbanded Leon Colony, as well as those who had been with Rapp gave Keil many hints concerning communistic undertakings. One of the things which they recommended to Keil as an especially strong factor in holding the people under one's control, was the practice of requiring confession from the members of the organization. Rapp had done this with great success. This confession consisted in subjecting the people to a series of questions on very delicate topics. It appealed to Keil. As a matter of experiment he instituted this confession in his church. Being subject to none of the older churches, he could do so with impunity. He had the young people come to him alone; the married people, however, were forced to come husband and wife together. Most of the interrogations, to which he subjected them, pertained to sex and sexual relations. Some of the persons turned from him in disgust, but many did confess sincerely. The strife which he thus conjured up in some of the families was very bitter, and the happy relations of many homes were unnecessarily disturbed. In his sermons he is said to have spoken freely of these things, and he made use of the information thus attained to intimidate the simple folk and to scourge them into line, to more easily compel them to do his bidding. Believing that he would be successful in a communistic venture, and feeling the great influence he had over the people in his charge, he definitely decided on the organization

of such a society. He counseled carefully with the ex-Harmonists and the ex-Leonists. They having had experience in such matters and being men of rare ability as mechanics and artisans, he solicited their participation most earnestly. The number of the ex-communists was, however, too small for his undertaking. It was therefore necessary that more persons should become interested in the undertaking. The capacity of preacher had made him acquainted with a great many persons in various regions of this country. He knew, too, that he had a certain influence over them. Accordingly he sent out his messengers to the various communities where his deputies had preached. A general invitation was issued for all to join the undertaking. The advantages were not too much discussed, in order that there might not be too many discontented parties. The only offer which Keil is said to have held forth is that the participants in the attempt should have plenty of work and bread and water. But so certain was he of his power over these people, that he doubted not that many of them would willingly join him, in order that they might be under the immediate supervision of a man whom they regarded as more than ordinary. A number of those appealed to did accept the call. As fast as they could dispose of their property, they joined the society. I do not wish to be understood as saying that the majority of those who had come under the pale of Keil's preaching and the preaching of his deputies joined. Many of them had no wish of giving up individualism. Then, too, Karl Koch was very active in his attempts to prevent the people from joining. The ex-Harmonists and ex-Leonists who expressed a willingness to participate insisted on having a written constitution. Accordingly such a document was drawn up. But as the people could not agree as to certain provisions it contained, Keil was called in and the matter submitted to him. He at once declared most emphatically that under no condition would he go bound and fettered by any written agreement. If a man's word was not as good as a written law, then he could and would have nothing to do with the entire project.

The Bible should be the foundation of the society which he proposed to found; the Golden Rule should be its motto. It is most interesting to know that such an old document did exist in the Bethel Community. It is usually stated, even by ex-members, that there was never any written agreement. For practical purposes this is true enough, for it was never put into effect. But as a matter of historic fact, it is interesting to know that an attempt was made to build the society on a written agreement. The finder of this old document would be lucky indeed. The old gentleman in whose possession it was last found believes that it was destroyed with a mass of other old papers. He recalled, however, that some of the provisions set forth therein, pertained to the admission and dismissal of members. Moreover he states that this writ provided that young men who were taken into the society were forbidden to marry before the expiration of the third year of their membership. Furthermore it must not be overlooked that this was the time when the agitation of the Mormon affairs made exclusive societies of this nature very unpopular, in Missouri at any rate. Under the proposed arrangement the society had no legal existence. The various members must hold the property of the body in trust. The Bethel Society remained an unincorporated body of persons until its dissolution. It was only a voluntary gathering of like-minded individuals. Nothing could possibly testify more ably to the astonishing power of Dr. Keil. For thirty-four years he was able to rule this extremely loosely-knit body dogmatically and dictated its policies to his own liking.

It has been made to appear by certain writers on this subject that the followers of Keil were an ignorant lot who knew nothing but to toil. I am not willing to accept this affirmation without qualification. The majority of the members consisted of common toilers, to be sure, who brought naught but their willing hands. But is not every community made up in this manner? I have found among the surviving colonists men rather well-read, and extremely shrewd in business matters. Moreover I have conclusive

proof that many of them possessed information that would have placed them side by side with the better informed men of an average community; men who were far more intellectual than Dr. Keil, their leader. Notable among these was Karl Ruge, a college-bred man prepared for the legal profession, who came to America with the great number of intellectual aristocrats in 1848. Here too is to be remembered Henry Finck, a master in music, to whom is due, in a large measure, the high position which the Colony at Bethel took as a center of music lovers in those early days. One of his sons has become a noted musical critic in New York City, while the other has made his mark as an attorney at law in the same metropolis. Nor must I pass by the great number of artisans whose handiwork still remains at Bethel as the strongest testimonial of their ability. Then there were men of the type of C. Wolf, who, conscious of their own strength and ability, had the temerity to oppose even Dr. Keil in some of his undertakings. After deliberate, inpartial and unbiased examination I am prepared to gainsay the statement that the colony consisted of ignorant men only. In trying to solve the problem as to why it was possible for Keil to gather so large a body of followers around him, it may be that Hinds in his "American Communities," (8) has found the right solution. He says: "I can only account for this by recalling, that when Dr. Keil began his independent career the people of the Eastern and Middle States had just passed through a series of religious and other excitements, that made them eager for new social conditions, and so quick to follow those who offered to lead them where such new conditions would prevail, and by supposing that Dr. Keil, however foolish his fanaticism and preposterous his claims, had yet wonderful powers of gaining and holding the attention and hearts of men." What effect Keil had on the intellectual life of the colony after its founding is another question which will be considered in due time.

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8. Page 287-8.

In the spring of 1844 the plans had matured sufficiently to make imperative the search for a location for the new colony. Of the instructions which the three deputies: Adam Schuele, David Wagner and Christian Presser took with them, as they wandered west in search of land, we know nothing. Most probably they were never transmitted to writing, as nearly all the orders and transactions were oral, and without any tangible form. It seems reasonable to assume that Keil gave directions to the effect that they should find land in a region virgin in nature, where the contaminating influences of advanced civilization did not obtain to affect the new settlement. They selected a site in one of the choicest agricultural regions of Missouri. It is located in Shelby County on the North River. The place is not particularly romantic but for the purpose of the settlement there were many advantages connected with this location. According to the "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties," (9) Peter Stice lived here at the time of the purchase by the colony and operated a saw mill, using the water of the North River as motor power. According to the same source three other land owners were located here—Rockwood, Vandiver, and Chinn. Their land was acquired by the colony. Other tracts were later entered from the government.

In the autumn of 1844 Keil and his family together with George Miller and a few others arrived in this western wild. They spent the winter amid considerable hardship, dwelling in some of the old log houses on and near the purchase. Vandiver possessed a good brick house which was built about 1840, and is still inhabited to this day. Here, most probably, some of the colonists found shelter, for the hospitality of the Missourian of that day has become proverbial. In the spring of 1845 many other colonists arrived. They did not all come at the same time, but they arrived as they were able to dispose of their possessions at home. Some of them purchased a boat to come down the

9. Page 861 f.

Ohio and up the Mississippi. There joined themselves to these men a number of adventurers who did not have the cause of the society at heart. The result was that the society grew rather rapidly, in fact too rapidly. For the adventurers soon became dissatisfied and severed their connection, often causing a good deal of unpleasantness and defaming the undertaking before the world. They could not attack Keil personally, for he had promised them nothing but hard work and bread and water. As has already been indicated, the members came from every region into which Keil had sent his deputies.

The men of the hour were the former members of the Harmony Society. Schooled in the ways of communistic life, and complete masters of some trade, they became the saviors in time of imminent danger and need. The names of these ex-Rappites are, according to the memory of the old men at Bethel, the following: Adam Schuele, Matheus Schuele, Jacob Veihinger, John C. Bauer, Michael Forstner, George Forstner, George Ziegler, David Wagner, Adam Keller, Christian Smith, Samuel Schreiver, and George Schnaufer. Some of these men who were especially skilled in some trade were urged by Keil to join the society. Others came of their own free will. Having had experience, however, with Rapp and Leon, some of them would not join without imposing certain conditions. So they proposed to belong to the society for a specified time only. If at the expiration of this time the society pleased them, they would continue as members. If, on the other hand, the affair was not to their liking, they reserved the right to be free to withdraw. This was a rather odd condition to enter into on the part of Keil, but he needed these men exceedingly much in his new enterprise. Some of these men, in fact the greater number, it is said, withdrew at the end of the time specified in their agreement. It is impossible to find a written statement concerning this compact. Most probably it was only a verbal agreement, as most of the transactions of the society were of this nature. The word of a man was as good as his signed statement. Since these men

had conduced to the stock of the society, they demanded the return of their investment. As the money had been spent in the acquisition and the improvement of the property of the colony, they could not be paid in cash. Hence certain pieces of property were assigned them as a remuneration. Their services to the colony having been most valuable, it is not hard to understand that they should demand some of the choice tracts of land. This demand had to be complied with, and so these men who had no more connection with the society became possessors of some of the finest building-sites in Bethel. One of the most flagrant cases of this kind was that of John C. Bauer. He decided not to leave the town of Bethel although he had volunteered, on strength of the above named compact, to sever his connection with the colony. Many attempts were made to "freeze him out," as a surviving kinsman of his puts it, but without success. Bauer was such an excellent mechanic that the society constantly had to employ him, when they found themselves in a predicament. So he continued to ply his trade with a good deal of success. Thus a strange condition had come about. In the midst of communism there was the purest individualism. Simple as the whole matter is it seems quite hazy in the minds of some of the writers of this subject. Hinds in his work "American Communities," (10) says: "A small store in the heart of the village was owned and managed by an outsider. The explanation of this singular state of things is found in the fact that a few years after the founding of the community, to satisfy the malcontents, a partition of the property was made among the members, and a few availed themselves of the opportunity to withdraw their share from the common interest, and have since managed it wholly for themselves." Now this statement is misleading. There was no general division of the property at this time, as the above statement would imply. The young men who owned and operated the store in question were the sons of John C. Bauer. They

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erected their place of business on the site which their father had received, as per agreement, which was made before they left Pennsylvania. All those who received a title to property at Bethel at this time had an agreement of the kind stated above. They cannot be called malcontents in the true sense, since they had a definite understanding with Keil to stay with him for a certain time only. In granting them property, Keil fulfilled only his part of the contract, they having already fulfilled their part. These sons of John C. Bauer, who, by the way, are now spelling their names Bower, operated a very successful general merchandise business, selling to outsiders as well as to members of the society—for it must be remembered that this society which, so to speak, stands on the borderline of communism, allowed its members to have some private earnings. This income they were not compelled to turn over to the general coffers, and thus had some money to spend for things which the society store did not provide them with. From their gardens they also made some private earnings, and so the strange mixture of communism and individualism, manifested at Bethel, finds an easy, logical and historical solution when the above facts and agreements are kept in mind.

Keil had been, and was still at the founding of the colony in Missouri, a religious enthusiast or if you choose a fanatic. For most of his action he cited parallel instances in the Bible. In accordance with such an inclination he called the places he founded on the North River after Bible names: Bethel, Elim, Mamri and Hebron while in Adair County the place was named Nineveh. His ardor seems to have died out, however, for in Oregon he named the only place there founded by him after a favorite daughter of his—Aurora.

Soon after the most necessary needs had been met, the colonists proceeded to erect a church building. They spared no pains and trouble in making it a magnificent place of worship. All the skill of the local artisans and artists was represented in this edifice. It was constructed

of brick and stone and finished in the most beautiful black walnut, of which an abundance grew on the banks of the North. According to Nordhoff, (11) the floor was made of large red tiles, and a narrow pulpit stood at one end. There were two doors, one for each of the sexes. The men and women sat on separate sides of the room. I am told by persons who saw the old church that a spacious gallery ran along three sides of this hall, a portion of which was railed off for the band which played on festival occasions. This gallery was faced with large and neatly carved panels of black walnut, 18 by 24 inches in size, and all of one entire piece of wood. In the massive tower hung three bells. When I remarked to one of the old members that this building must have been an enormous expense to the young colony, he said with an air of great pride that the whole church cost them nothing save what they had to expend for window glass, nails and the three bells. All the rest of this fine structure was prepared by the colonists themselves. This church was the pride of the community as well as the entire County of Shelby. One can scarcely interview an old resident of Shelby County who knew the colony in its palmy days, who does not make reference to this magnificent edifice. In this church the colonists assembled every two weeks to hear Dr. Keil "preach" as they called it. As Keil professed allegiance to none of the established churches, he had no particular doctrine to uphold or defend. As one of the old men told me, he simply preached the doctrine of moral living. One hears so many contradictory reports concerning Keil, and is told so often that he indulged in excess himself, that it is difficult to see how he could have had unalloyed success. However, he had such a firm grip on his people, that they feared him and did not raise a voice against him. The chief aim of his preaching seems to have been to induce his followers to lead a moral life; to assert his authority; to compel the members to be industrious and thus foster the progress of the community. The

11. Page 325.

strongest weapons he had were employed to instill fear and respect of his authority in his members. To give a concrete notion of his preaching, I shall cite a specific incident which was communicated to me by a wholly truthful person. Whether through the system of confession which he made use of, or in some other way Keil had an inkling that some of his members were guilty of illicit carnal intercourse. He resorted to the following drastic measures to expose the malefactors and to check the evil. In open meeting he made known his findings, and in conclusion charged those concerned to arise there and then before the assembly or upon failure to do so he would announce their names. So terrified were the guilty ones and under such awe they stood before the man, that they arose at once, confessed their guilt and penitently bowed before the fearful upbraiding which was hurled at them from the pulpit. The most natural thing imaginable, namely that they would leave the community, the scene of their disgrace, did not happen. They remained and bore in contrition the contumely which followed such a confession or exposure.

Since Keil and his followers had no obligations to any established church, it was but natural that the usual observances of the church should be omitted. Thus they did away with baptism; they had no more confirmation, a custom which many of the members had been used to in Germany; they did not celebrate the Lord's Supper in the orthodox manner; if they observed it at all, it took the form of a general meal at the home of some member. The confession which Keil made use of, he employed solely for the purpose of instilling fear for his authority.

The church which is represented at Bethel now—for the days of the old Keil church has long passed—is the Methodist Episcopal. The services are all in the English language. A few years ago a German Methodist Church existed, but it had to be abandoned for want of support. In the building which the German Methodists owned, the Christian Church has begun to hold its meetings.

One of Keil's former followers told me that none of Keil's old members joined the Methodist Church after the dissolution of the society. They had gotten so out of tune with the old churches that they could not make themselves comply with their teachings, and so remained without the pale of all church organization. The membership of the existing church at Bethel is made up of the younger generation in the town and of the surrounding country. The following significant statement of an old Keilite will throw some light on the subject of their attitude towards the church: "The churches do no harm as long as the preachers behave themselves."

There were several festivals during the year which were always celebrated in grand style. First among these was Keil's birthday which was always a colony holiday. Then came Easter and Penticost and the Harvestfeast in the autumn. On these occasions great tables were spread and loaded with all the things that the German kitchen and cellar could offer. These feasts were held at Elim, the residence of Keil. Everybody was welcome and from far and wide the people came to share in the feast. A procession was formed in Bethel which, led by the band, marched to Elim. The band also played during the entire time of the feast. No charges were imposed, and all strangers were made to feel comfortable. In the evening there was dancing. The real purpose of this almost unparalleled generosity is not well known. Whether it be that they wished to induce outsiders to come into the fold of the society or whether it was simply pure altruism on the part of the colonists, I am not prepared to say. At Christmas time the church was decorated with two huge Christmas trees. The celebration which was rather unique took place at the early hour of four on Christmas day. To this occasion also hosts of strangers arrived. The program consisted of a talk by the preacher, congregational singing and music by the band. Then huge baskets of cakes and apples and quantities of candy were distributed. Colonists and strangers shared absolutely equal. The trees were allowed to remain stand-

ing until New Year's day and then its gifts were distributed among the children of the colony. This beautiful celebration was in time interrupted by rowdy elements which came from the surrounding region, and so, rather than compelling them to be orderly and thereby possibly making enemies, this unique custom was abandoned.

The description of the colony church logically suggests the mention of other structures and the prevailing style of architecture. As stated before, the site of the Bethel settlement is not particularly interesting, in fact it is almost wholly devoid of all that might be termed romantic. Most of the buildings and their surroundings do not help to alleviate the prosaic effect. The buildings are made to serve practical purposes, and are almost totally barren of all ornamentation. They are usually made of brick which the colonists made themselves, stone which was quarried along the North, and timber which was hewn and sawed in the surrounding forest. The houses are built close to the street. Most of them have no front yard whatever. The architecture is of that very plain style so common in many old German settlements of this state. The eaves drip on the street and there often is no porch at the entrance. The structures are carefully put up, however, and seem to be capable of surviving yet many a decade. In some instances a wooden framework was erected and the intervening spaces were filled with brick and mortar. These buildings were plastered both on the inside and outside. The hinges and locks are handmade.

Soon after the colonists came to Bethel they erected a steam burr-mill. All the shafts and things of this nature were made of hard wood. They also established a distillery, a tannery and a colony laundry. All these institutions needed much hot water. For economy a large boiler was purchased for the mill and this was made to supply the other three industries with hot water. Then the problem of how to convey the water to these various buildings had to be met. Metal pipes they could not afford nor were they easily obtainable. Here the colonists showed their inventiveness.

They took long, straight beams, about twenty feet in length and a foot or a foot and a half in diameter at the larger end and with a specially constructed bit, they drilled a two-inch hole thru the entire beam. By hollowing out the larger end and tapering the other they effected a joint which by wrapping with flax or hemp dipped in tar they rendered tolerably water-tight. From this one illustration it must be apparent that these people were very inventive indeed. Many of the Germans whom Keil gathered around him and especially the former adherents of Rapp and Leon were skilled artisans. At every turn one meets evidences of their aptitude. Altho the product of their labor is sometimes crude. it nevertheless shows what they were able to do. Apparently there were master workmen for every kind of labor, but especially apt were they in working in iron and wood. The old mill and distillery were destroyed by fire but a part of the old tannery stands to this day. Here, too, one is impressed with the inventiveness of the workmen. In those days all the fixtures and all the tools had to be made by hand. Altho they pursued this industry only in a small way, they nevertheless gained considerable proficiency in tanning. Their shoes were carefully made and strong, and many outsiders, especially those who owned slaves, purchased their workshoes here. In those days the deer was found in large numbers in North Missouri. Their hides furnished gloves which were made under the supervision of the head-glovemaker Adolph Pflugk. These gloves are said to have been of excellent make. That they really must have been of superior quality and workmanship is attested by the fact that in 1858 they took a first premium at an exhibition in New York City. (12)

For the operation of the tannery much oak bark was necessary. The colonists did not like to rob their own trees of their bark . So they ascertained where an outsider contemplated clearing. They went to him made the proposition to hew down his large oak trees on condition that he

12. "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties." P. 863.

would allow them to peel off the bark for their own use. When such permission was obtained, all men, regardless of the trade they plied in the colony, went to the woods, performed this task in common and conveyed the bark in huge loads to Bethel. Thus they accomplished their task quickly, and also gave their neighbors a laudible example of forest protection, which lesson in this land of plenty, however, passed unheeded.

In the village smithy, which is now owned and operated by a direct descendent of the colony blacksmith, I was shown all sorts of tools that were made in the colony days. They are neat and seem to be better in many respects than the factory-made articles of today.

For the making of linseed oil the colonists resorted to the following device. A very large stone was rendered perfectly smooth and laid down horizontally. On this stone rested two circular stones, each sixty-four inches in diameter and twelve inches in thickness. They were fastened by a strong axis to a heavy rod in the middle. To this horses and mules were hitched and made to roll the heavy stones over the horizontal stone. The horses going around in a circle very much as they do in turning a canemill. The flaxseed was spread on the flat stone and the circular stones, moving over this, crushed the flaxseed into pulp, from which the oil was later extracted by intense pressure. One of these stones now rests over a public well in Bethel, the other in said to be used for a similar purpose in Shelbina.

(To be concluded.)

WILLIAM GODFREY BEK,
Instructor in Germanic Languages, University of Missouri.

NOTES.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

On Monday evening, December 28th, the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association will meet in joint session in Washington to listen to the inaugural address of Mr. James Bryce as president of the latter body. Tuesday morning there will be separate sessions in Washington; in the afternoon a special train to Richmond; in the evening the presidential address of Professor George B. Adams—on Wednesday there will be papers on the Relations of Geography to History, and various other subjects. On Thursday the conference of state and local historical societies, for which Prof. St. George L. Sioussat will act as secretary, will be held, and also "round table" conferences on American colonial and Revolutionary history and in Southern history. In the evening General E. P. Alexander, C. S. A., and other officers and authorities in Civil War history will discuss the campaigns in Virginia. On New Years day there will be an excursion to Charlottesville and the University of Virginia. During the week there will be opportunity to visit the battlefields of Petersburg, Seven Pines and Yellow Tavern.

DANIEL BOONE'S REMAINS.

The legislature of Kentucky arranged for the removal of the bones of Daniel Boone from Missouri to that state, and in 1845 a commission came from Kentucky, and took back what was supposed to be his remains. It is now claimed that a mistake was made and that the wrong body was taken. As no headstone with inscription was ever placed over his grave the mistake, if there was one, was easily made, and it may now be difficult to satisfactorily decide where the body really is.

MARK TWAIN TRANSLATIONS.

In the exhibit made by the women of Connecticut at the World's Fair at Chicago was an exhibit of forty-two translations of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The library of the British Museum has translations of the same in twenty languages. A similar exhibit of translations of Mark Twain's work would be very appropriate for the State Historical Society of Missouri, and be of great interest. The Society asks donations of all such translations for its Mark Twain collection.

DONATION OF MAGAZINES.

Dr. Zopher Case, of Warrensburg, a relative of Leonard Case, Jr., founder of the "Case School of Applied Science" at Cleveland, Ohio, has made a large donation to the Society of magazines and medical journals, they being the accumulation of many years. The medical journals include the leading ones of the country to the present time, 332 of these having been published in Missouri. The collection included in all 3990 numbers.

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS BURIED IN MISSOURI.

The Review for October, 1907, contained a list of Revolutionary Soldiers buried in Missouri, compiled by the late Mary Louise Dalton, which list recorded the locality of thirty-four graves. A note in the same number of the Review added one name to the list. Late papers have added two names. William Dilday, who is buried in an old cemetery in Lawrence county, and —. Ferrell or Ferrill, who is buried in the Macedonia cemetery north of Stella, in Newton county. He came with his family from Indiana about 1836, and first located on Shoal Creek, and later moved to a place about a mile north of where Stella now is, where he died in 1841. His grave in this cemetery is not now known.

REV. JESSE WALKER.

A letter from Mr. Ezra M. Prince, secretary of the McLean County Historical Society at Bloomington, Illinois, re-

ferring to the paper in the July Review on Rev. Jesse Walker, says:

"He was intimately connected with our local history. He formed the first religious organization in our county, the Blooming Grove class of the M. E. church.

The first cabin built in the county was by John Hendrix in the spring of 1822. He and his wife were ardent Methodists. The visit to them by Rev. Jesse Walker well illustrates the hardships of this pioneer missionary. The story of that visit is as follows: "One cold night in the fall of 1824 a voice was heard from without. Mr. Hendrix went to the door. A stranger sat upon a horse, and asked if he could stay over night. Mr. Hendrix replied, "Yes, come in." He said, "I can not; I am stiff with cold." Mr. Hendrix took him from his horse, carried him into his cabin and laid him before the big fire in the great fire place. He then went out and put up the horse; returning he helped the stranger to rise to a seat, and the visitor recovering said, "My name is Jesse Walker. I am a Methodist minister. I live in St. Louis. Having heard of a white family living up here among the Indians, I have come all the way to bring the gospel." He was gladly received, a short service was held, reading the Scriptures, prayer and a sermon. Shortly afterwards a "class" was formed with Mr. Hendrix as leader.

In the economy of the Methodist church, especially in its missionary stages, the class played an important part. The settlers were scattered, not enough to form churches. The visits of the missionary were infrequent, and that the religious fires kindled by these devoted men might not go out entirely the class was organized. A knot of Methodists would meet at some convenient cabin, some one of the members, distinguished for his intelligence, character, piety, zeal, and especially for his knowledge of the Bible was chosen leader. The classes were usually formed as in this case under the direction of the missionary or other regularly appointed minister of the church."

The above quotation is given from a paper read by Mr. Prince at the June meeting of the Society of which he is Secre-

tary, and is of interest in connection with the valuable article in the July number of the Review by Rev. Joab Spencer, of Slater, Missouri, in which number his name was incorrectly given as Joel.

ESPERANTO OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED.

The United States government has lately appointed Major Paul F. Straub, of the army medical corps, to represent this country in the fourth international Esperanto Congress, held at Dresden, Germany, August 16-22, 1908. Other countries also appointed representatives to attend this Congress.

The War Department library at Washington is accumulating a collection of Esperanto literature, and the librarian of the War Department, and the superintendent of the Naval war records and library are prominent members of the Washington Esperanto Society.

There are now about 1,000 Esperanto schools and societies in the world, and there are fifty-five periodicals published in Esperanto. The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs recommends his countrymen to study the language, which he calls the gospel of the world.

MONTANA STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY.

Mr. William S. Bell, librarian, is doing good work for the historical interests of the State. Bulletin No. II just issued gives a general outline for a reading list on the history of the State, followed by lists of books, manuscripts, magazine and newspaper articles under the various heads. The statement is made that "every newspaper and magazine in the State is received at the library."

HISTORY TEACHERS' SOCIETY.

The Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government adopted the Review as its official organ, and its editor, Prof. N. M. Trenholm, will conduct a department for that society. Not having returned from his vacation in time to prepare copy, the October Review unfortunately has to omit this until the next issue.

BOOK NOTES.

A Study in American Freemasonry. By Arthur Preuss, editor of the Catholic Fortnightly Review. St. Louis and Freiburg. B. Herder, 1908. 12mo., 433 p.

The above work by a valued member of this society is based upon Pike's "Morals and Dogma of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite," Mackey's works, and publications of other Masonic writers. It is written in a calm, argumentative manner, giving authorities for all the allegations that the author makes, so that no offense is felt by a Mason while reading it, though he may see the mistake of the author in the conclusion given by him.

The majority of American Masons adopt the York Rite of Masonry leading from the Blue Lodge thru the Chapter to the Commandery or Knights Templar. In the Scottish Rite leading from the same Lodge to the 33d degree, there is more of philosophic teaching, but Masons would reply to the assertions of the author, that in neither branch is there taught any concealed religion, philosophy or science, but that these are all fully set forth in the monitorial or exoteric Masonry, the esoteric Masonry being merely the forms of initiation, and not a changing or addition to the monitorial part.

Those who may be disposed to agree with the author, and those who wish to know the arguments urged against Masonry, will find the work of interest. It may be obtained of the publisher for $1.50.

Fate's a Fiddler, by Edwin George Pinkham, illustrated by Lester Ralph. Boston, Small, Maynard & Company. 1908. 417 p.

This is one of the latest publications by a Missouri writer, one who is said to be on the Kansas City Star. The story is a good one, commencing in Boston, and transferred

to Missouri, in which State the events at St. Louis and in the mining country of the Southwest are dramatically told. The style is a strong reminder of Dickens, and a brilliant literary future is promised for the writer.

Stones in a Life. By William M. Goldsmith, student in the State Normal School, Springfield, Missouri. Springfield, Jewell Publishing Co. n. d. (C. 1908). 154 p. Portrait.

This is a pleasantly written account of stories, incidents and conversations from the real life and experience of the author, a young man who was born in Northeast Arkansas, but early moved to Campbell, Dunklin County, in this State, where he still resides. The little book will be a help to any young person who reads it.

Library and Historical Archives in North Carolina, 1900-1905. Publications of the Historical Commission, vol. 1. Raleigh, 1907. 800. 623 p.

This is a work embracing many points of history relative to the State, giving accounts of the State Literary and Historical Association, the progress of education in the State, Sir Walter Raleigh, and his colonies, reports of battles of the Revolutionary War, and those of the Civil War, and the various patriotic societies of each, bibliography of the State for 1902 to 1905, biographies of prominent men of the State, and much other matter of interest to its citizens. Many of the States are going ahead of ours in the matter of historical publications made by them.

Hon. Thomas P. Bashaw was elected to the 30th General Assembly, 1874, and reelected to the 31st and 32d, and was Speaker of the House in the 31st, serving at the regular session in 1881 and the adjourned session in 1882.

He was born in Shelby County, Kentucky, October 31, 1843, studied law at the State University, but quit his books to enter the Confederate army. He was admitted to the bar in St. Louis in 1867, and afterwards lived at Mexico, Missouri, and later at Paris, Monroe County, from which county he was elected to the Legislature, previous to which he was elected probate judge. In 1884 he was a candidate for the nomination for Governor on the Democratic ticket, but was defeated by Governor Marmaduke. He was appointed United States District Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri by President Cleveland in 1887. He died at his home in St. Louis, July 1, 1908.

Hon. James G. Donnell, an inspector for many years in the United States customs office at St. Louis, residing at 1820 Schild avenue, was taken dangerously ill and died on August 22, 1908. He was a member of the Missouri House of Representatives from Madison County in the 33d General Assembly in 1885.

Judge Pembroke R. Flitcraft, elected Circuit Judge in St. Louis in 1894, on the Republican ticket, serving until January 1, 1901, was born in Salem County, N. J., in 1849, and came to St. Louis in 1878. He was a graduate of the University of Michigan. He died June 17, 1908.

Dr. Homer Taylor Fuller, president of Drury College, Springfield, from 1894 to 1906, died August 15 at Saranac Lake, N. Y. He was born at Lempster, N. H., November 15,

1838, graduated from Dartmouth College in 1864, and afterward received the degrees of Ph. D. and D. D. He was connected with various educational institutions before coming to Missouri, and was the author of several monographs on educational subjects.

Rev. Dr. Henry Hopkins, from 1880 to 1902 pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Kansas City, and later president of Williams College, died in Rotterdam, Holland, August 18, 1908. He was born November 30, 1837, in Williamsburg, Massachusetts, a son of Dr. Mark Hopkins, at that time president of Williams College, and in which he graduated at the age of twenty years. He was appointed chaplain in the Union army by President Lincoln, and was stationed nearly four years in the hospitals at Alexandria. He afterwards served in the field. and was at the battles of the Wilderness and Appomattox.

Rev. James E. Hughes was born in Howard County, Missouri, March, 1821. In 1837 he moved to Clinton County, which he represented in the Legislature in the 27th General Assembly in 1873 and the adjourned session of the same in the following year. In 1843 he was ordained a minister of the Baptist Church. He was a relative of John T. Hughes of Doniphan's expedition. He died at Osborn, Missouri, August 19, 1908.

William Morgan was born in Montreal, Canada, November 18, 1839, moved to Newport, Kentucky, when a boy, and to St. Louis in 1857, where he was an auctioneer till after the Civil War. In 1873 he was appointed deputy clerk of the United States District Court, and in 1887 Judge Thayer made him clerk, which position he held till 1903. He died in St. Louis, July 7, 1908.

Gov. Eugene Semple, governor of Washington Territory during President Cleveland's first administration, died in San Diego, California, August 28, 1908. He was born in Bogota, United States of Colombia, South America, in 1840,

when his father was United States Minister at that place. He was educated in the schools of St. Louis, and in the St. Louis University, and studied law in the office of Judge Chester H. Krum. In 1870 he moved to Portland, Oregon, and afterwards resided on the Pacific coast.

Capt. Eli J. Sherlock, born in Perry County, Ohio, January 4, 1840; in the Civil War enlisted in the One Hundredth Ohio Volunteers, and in 1864 became captain. After the war he settled at Pleasant Hill, Missouri, and in 1874 was admitted to the bar. In 1878 he moved to Kansas City, where he lived till his death, August 15, 1908. During the war he kept a diary, which became four volumes, dealing with the history of the regiment to which he belonged, and which the United States Government reports as the best record of regimental histories. Capt. Sherlock wrote two books, "The Marches and Battles of the One Hundredth Ohio Infantry," and "Dictionary of American Battles."

Hon. Isaac H. Sturgeon, called "The Grand Old Man," of St. Louis, resident in a historic mansion with furniture and furnishings of ante-bellum days, and waited upon by servants who were the descendents of others who lived in the Sturgeon and Allen families before the Civil War, at a ripe old age died August 22, 1908. His public life dated back to 1848 when he was elected an alderman of St. Louis, and re-elected two years later. In 1852 he was a member of the Senate in the Seventeenth General Assembly, having for fellow members James O. Broadhead, Robert M. Stewart, Benjamin W. Grover, Wyman Crow, Thomas Allen, and other prominent men of the day. In March, 1853, he was appointed United States subtreasurer by President Pierce; reappointed in 1857 by President Buchanan; from 1861 to 1875 to various special agencies; in 1875 by President Grant, United States internal revenue collector for the First Missouri district; in 1876 reappointed by President Hayes; in 1881 reappointed by President Garfield, continued by President Arthur, and in 1885 continued by President Cleveland; 1890 appointed assistant postmaster of St. Louis by President

Harrison; in March, 1893, elected comptroller of the City of St. Louis, re-elected and held the office till 1901.

Winston Churchill was married at the Sturgeon home in 1895, his wife being a niece of Mrs. Sturgeon. The Belgrade of the "Crisis" is the old Sturgeon home, some of the characters of the novel being suggested by Mr. Sturgeon. He was born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, December 10, 1821, and studied law in Louisville. In January, 1846, he removed to St. Louis, was there admitted to the bar, but entered business pursuits. In the early days of the North Missouri Railroad, he was for twelve years its president. He was also a director in the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, and in more than one bank. The eight presidents under whom he served all recognized him as a man of much ability, and of the highest integrity.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

OFFICERS FOR 1908-9.

E. M. VIOLETTE, Kirksville,
President.

H. R. TUCKER, St. Louis,
Vice President.

EUGENE FAIR, Columbia,
Secretary-Treasurer.

N. M. TRENHOLME, Columbia,
Editor.

Since the last issue of The Review Miss Anna Gilday, of the Manual Training School, has resigned as Secretary-Treasurer of the Society and Mr. Eugene Fair has kindly consented to accept the vacant office. All history teachers who wish to join the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government can send their names to Mr. Fair at Columbia who will gladly, furnish any one with information in regard to the Society.

The work in History carried on during the summer of 1908 in the various state institutions was greater than ever before. At the State University both the undergraduate and the graduate courses were well filled and a large history enrollment was reported. The same is true of the Kirksville Normal and large and successful classes were reported from the other state normals. All this means more and better trained Teachers of History in the state and indicates the growth of the profession in thoroughness and specialization.

The next meeting of the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government will be held in connection with the annual meeting of the State Teachers Association at Kansas City during the coming Christmas vacation The officers of the Society expect to provide a profitable and interesting program of papers and discussion and hope for a large attendance of history teachers from all parts of the state.

We are very glad to publish in this number of The Review an interesting discussion of Dunn's work, "The Community and the Citizen," by Mr. H. R. Tucker, of the McKinley High School. The interest that has been aroused in the teaching of Civics and in the relation of history and government has already done much to improve the character of the text-books and the teaching in both subjects. Mr. Tucker's review is, therefore, a timely contribution to a live topic.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTES.

Dunn, Arthur William, "The Community and the Citizen;" D. C. Heath & Co., Boston; 1907; pp. 266, viii.

As the author says: "The book is a departure from the traditional methods of presenting the subject of civics to young people." It is primarily intended for the upper grammar grade and the first year of the high school. Mr. Dunn expressly disclaims any intention to propose it as a text for the last year of the high school, when "a scientific analysis of the machinery and powers of government" is most profitably undertaken. Here then is a book which will enable any teacher to instruct her pupils within their immediate experience. The pupil is taught to study his own social world; and to do this, Mr. Dunn clearly follows essential pedagogical principles—"observation, analysis and inference." He holds —and no doubt rightly—that it is the interest of the young pupils which must be maintained. The "point of contact"—the child's and the adult's relation to his fellows—is the central aim thruout the text. The pupil studies his own environment and comes to feel he is a vital part of it.

The author makes frequent use of local history and geography, and thus correlates the two subjects—history and government—which, more and more, are coming to be considered as different phases of the same subject. For history is but the evolving of the social and political life of the people. There is much sociological material in the book, and it is presented in such simple concept and phraseology that a child can understand it. For instance, in evolving the question of getting a livelihood, the author describes, simply, the method

used by primitive man. The book also emphasizes the importance of the ethical phase of man's life, and the citizen's obligation to the community in return for the many privileges the community accords to him. It is pleasing to find a school text like this one religious (not denominational) in its tone; that is—it recognizes the religious instinct and activities of man.

The style of the book is simple and entertaining, being less formal than the ordinary text book. The illustrations are very appropriate, being new, varied, numerous, and relevant to the object matter. There are marginal analyses, a helpful addition to a text book. The author generally adopts a broad-minded attitude; for instance, in speaking of the training for citizenship, he does not ascribe to history and civics the only disciplinary power, but also mentions other branches of the curriculum as training for citizenship.

The excellent questions for investigation at the end of each chapter are prepared so as (1) to develop the pupil's power of observation; (2) to apply the principles to one's own locality, thus stimulating the interest; and (3) to set the pupils to thinking, such questions not requiring formal preparation, but simply calling for class discussion.

The references to books and the standard magazines are complete, varied and specific. They enable expansion in the work where age and time of pupils permit it. There are also references for teachers as well as for pupils.

There is one omission, which even in an elementary text, we do not see is justifiable, and that is that there is no mention at all of the territorial possessions (continental and insular) of the United States and their government. We fail to see how such a topic would have been not in harmony wtih the general scheme of the work, nor any more difficult than other topics considered.

The book is, however, thoroughly commendable as a departure from the usual elementary text book in civics. Furthemore, it is not the result of theory alone for it has met the test of a year's experience under the direction of the author in the school of a large city. It should be in the hands of

every teacher of history and civics of the grammar grades, for use and guidance. To the teacher of the upper high school courses in history and in civics it would offer many valuable suggestions and prove useful in supplementary work. The teaching profession would gladly welcome—we feel—a book for upper high school classes, written along the same lines as this text.—H. R. Tucker, McKinley High School, St. Louis.

A skillfully abridged and well edited version of Burg's well known "History of Greece" has been prepared for the use of American schools by Dr. Everett Kimball, of Smith College. It is published by the Macmillan Co. ($1.10.)

The firm of Scott, Foresman and Co., of Chicago, have brought out two useful works in Roman history by Professor F. F. Abbott, of the University of Chicago. There are "A Short History of Rome," ($1.00) and "A Handbook for the Study of Roman History," (25 cents).

Excellent review outline of Greek and Roman history have been prepared by Messrs. C. B. Newton and E. B. Treat, of the Lawrenceville School. These are published and sold by the American Book Co. at twenty-five cents each.

A new volume in the story of the Nations series deals with "The Roman Empire, B. C. 29—A. D. 476." It is by Mr. H. Stuart-Jones and deals interestingly with the general development and final collapse of the greatest of ancient empires. The publishers are G. P. Putnam Sons. ($1.35.)

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY.

Professor Dow's "Atlas of European History" published by Holt and Co. ($1.50) is the best thing of its kind available for students in Mediaeval and Modern History. It has some fifty excellent maps and a comprehensive finding index. It should largely replace the long popular little German atlas of Putzger.

Another "Source Book of Mediaeval History" has appeared this time from the precincts of Harvard, the editor being Mr. F. A. Ogg, one of the instructors in European History in Harvard University. The extracts are well selected and prefaced by clearly written explanatory notes. Altogether, this new source book appears very serviceable for school and college use and should help in the movement towards the rational use of sources. It is published by the American Book Co. ($1.50). The Scribner's company have completed the publication of Seignobo's History of Civilization with the second volume dealing with "Mediaeval and Modern Civilization" (($1.25.) It is a most useful reference work for teacher in the field of European History.

For teachers of Modern European History and for advanced students there is much that is valuable and suggestive to be found in a new work by Archibald Weir entitled "An Introduction to the History of Modern Europe," published by Houghton, Mifflin and Co. ($2.00.) It is a book that deals with underlying tendencies and forces as well as external events and indicates a thorough understanding of the trend of modern historical development.

Note—Notices of new books in English and American History have to be omitted from this number of The Review but will appear in the January number. The editor will be glad to receive any contribution from members of the Society as to reply to questions in regard to this department of The Review.

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MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 3. JANUARY, 1909. NO. 2

DANIEL BOONE.

[Introductory to the more formal accounts of Daniel Boone, extracts from two letters from William S. Bryan to Prof. G. C. Broadhead are given. The photographs referred to have not been engraved and consequently are not shown. The article now given will be followed by others relating to Boone.—Editor.]

Daniel Boone married Rebecca Bryan, an aunt of Jonathan Bryan, grandfather of the writer, and after coming to Missouri the two families lived on adjoining plantations in the valley of the Femme Osage, in St. Charles county. My brother and I visited both places last summer, and I will enclose with this letter copies of photographs we took on that occasion, which may be of some interest. The old stone house built by Boone and his son, General Nathan Boone, still stands, as represented in the photograph; but every vestige of his first log cabin has disappeared. Visitors are sometimes lured into the belief that a pigsty, in the adjoining lot, is the old cabin; but it is cruel to deceive confiding humanity in that way. Yet it is quite probable that some of the logs in the pig-house may have belonged to the old cabin. The latter stood where I have made a cross on the photograph; and the spring was about as far

beyond it, and in the same direction, as the site of the cabin is from the stone house. I send you also a photograph of the spring, which flows out from under a bluff. It was this spring which induced Boone to locate there. He found it one day while hunting. The little boy looking so intently into the water is my little son, a third grand-nephew of Rebecca Bryan (Boone).

I will send you also a picture of my grandfather's old double log cabin, as it appears now. It was a famous house at the time it was built, and the largest west of St. Charles, until Boone completed his stone mansion. The two houses are about a mile apart, and during the last few years of his life Boone spent as much time at my grandfather's as he did at home. In fact, there was hardly a day that they did not visit back and forth, for a period of twenty years, from 1800 until 1820, when Boone died. It was during this time that my father knew him, as a boy and a growing young man knows his elders. In 1815 my grandmother, who was then a woman of about fifty, shot and killed an Indian in front of the Bryan cabin. The savage was running toward her with uplifted tomahawk, and was about where the tree now grows when she shot him. This tree is an offshoot of an older one that stood on the same spot at the time. She and a negro woman had just killed another Indian in the hall, he having entered, or attempted to enter, by the back door. I enclose a printed slip describing the incident. The two Indians were buried where I have drawn a cross-mark.

The Boones and Bryans were pioneers of Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and being closely related by marriage and intermarriage, they held together in all their migrations. My greatgrandfather and two of his brothers built Bryan's Station, (1) near the present site of Lexington, Ky., where they bought, or "entered," fifteen thousand acres of land, with the intention of establishing a colonial plantation; but their titles were defective, and they lost it all, just as Boone did his. After the loss of the lands, my grandfather removed to Missouri, in 1800, and

purchased a large tract adjoining Boone's, in the Femme Osage valley; and there the two families remained until they ran their course. My greatgrandfather, James Bryan, the old Revolutionary soldier, also came to Missouri, and he and my grandfather and grandmother lie buried on the hill about one hundred and fifty yards above the old log house. In the picture of the old house the little boy is sitting by the spring, which in my father's time had a house over it; and there they kept their butter and milk and honey.

This morning I received a batch of manuscript from my brother, Dr. J. D. Bryan, of Ottawa, Kansas, and I am glad to see that he has found the record of the birth of Daniel Boone. I quote a portion of my brother's manuscript, as follows:

"George Boone, Sr., was born in Columpton, Devonshire, England, in 1662; in 1717 he migrated to America with his wife, Mary, two daughters, and nine sons. They landed at Philadelphia, October 10, 1717, O. S. The Boones were Dissenters, and members of the 'Society of Friends' (Quakers) both in England and America. Soon after Boone's arrival, he purchased a large tract of land on the east side of the Schuylkill river, and had it erected into a township, which he called Exeter. This is a short distance southeast of the present town of Reading, Pa. The records of the old **'Gwynedd Monthly Meeting'** show as follows: '10-31-1717, George Boone, Sr., produced certificate of his good life and conversation, from the Meeting at Columpton, in Great Britain. Was received and read.' Again: 'Squire Boone, son of George, of Philadelphia county, yeoman, married to Sarah, daughter of Edward Morgan, of the same county, at **Gwynedd Meeting House**, 7-13-1720, witnesses, George, Edward and Elizabeth Morgan, George and James Boone, William, John and Daniel Morgan, and 31 others.' Children of Squire and Sarah Boone, **'Exter Monthly Meeting Records;'** Sarah, b. 4-7-1724. Israel, b. 3-9-1726. Samuel, b. 3-20-1728. Jonathan, b. 10-6-1730. Elizabeth, b. 12-15-1732. **Daniel, b. 8-22-1734.** Mary, b. 9-3-1736. George, b. 11-2-1739. Edward, b. 9-9-1740."

As stated above, the foregoing is a copy from the records of the old Gwynedd Meeting House, where the Boones were born, lived and died, and I think it settles the fact satisfactorily that Daniel Boone was born on the 22d day of August, 1734. I am very glad indeed that my brother has found this record, for it settles a question which has long been in dispute. There were two or three other Boone children born after the records ceased.

DANIEL BOONE IN MISSOURI.

The last twenty-five years of the life of Daniel Boone were spent in Missouri, and when he died he was buried there. Scenes connected with his daily life during this period seem to possess an abiding interest for the American people. The Boone farm in the upper part of St. Charles county, and the old stone mansion that stands upon it, are visited every year by numerous pilgrims, who come from distant States, and even from across the sea, to worship at the shrine of the world's greatest pioneer. Each new arrival drinks freely from the spring of sweet water that bubbles up from beneath that great ledge of rock, paints a mental picture of the adjacent scenery of hill and bluff and rolling valley, and carries away with him pleasant memories of the place and its surroundings. Others, less reverent of sentiment, chip off pieces of the stone house, or gather mementoes from the spot where the old cabin stood; while some fondly cherish photographs of the modern pigsty, which they are made to believe contains some of the logs that entered into the first Boone house west of the Mississippi. The present owner of the place, a thrifty American of German ancestry, is disposed to let all his visitors have their own way, and very rarely undeceives any of them regarding the pig house. And why should he spoil a harmless sentiment? Every vestige of the old cabin has long since disappeared, except a few faint traces of the foundation where it stood.

The spring was the inducement which led Boone to build his cabin there. Those old pioneers valued a spring more

than they did the land surrounding it; for it not only supplied them with water so cold as to require no ice, but it was sure to be a general meeting-place for deer and other game. Many a buffalo, coming to slake his thirst at this spring, yielded up his life a victim to the unerring aim of the old pioneer. Boone could sit in the door of his cabin, which stood fifty feet or more eastwardly from the spring, and lay in a winter's supply of meat for his family without the trouble of hunting. He could pick his choice of deer, elk, buffalo or bear; for all these animals came there to drink. Bear meat was preferred above all other kinds, owing to its sweet and nutty flavor; and the bacon of swine went begging when bear bacon was convenient. Wild turkeys were also abundant and so tame that they roosted in the trees and stood about the cabin, and were not regarded with special favor; for when one eats turkey every day he soon longs for something more substantial. Bees nested in the crevices of the rocks and in the hollows of adjacent trees, and came also to the spring to fill their little buckets with water. Thus Boone and his family had an abundance of honey, of the best quality and flavor, without going beyond the limits of their own yard or bothering themselves about the care of the bees. It was a genuine Arcadia, embracing an existence seemingly unreal, but it was very real and substantial when Boone built his cabin on the bank above the spring—and for some years thereafter.

Back of the spring a hill slopes gradually up to the foot of a bluff, from the top of which may be seen many miles of the level stretches of Femme Osage valley, with the creek of the same name winding its course through the corn and wheat fields and the rich meadow lands that margin its banks. There are not many finer views anywhere in the world; and for richness of soil the farms that lie spread out beneath this bluff can hold their own with the valley of the Nile. Before Boone came the French had given a name to this creek ("Woman of the Osage") to perpetuate the memory of an Osage woman, said to have been beautiful, who lost her life while attempting to cross the stream when

it was swollen by recent rains. Sometimes it becomes a torrent, sweeping over all obstacles and flooding the lower portions of the valley. It was in this condition when the Osage woman, driven doubtless by an unsympathetic husband, gained immortality by getting herself drowned.

The story of how Daniel Boone came to the valley of the Femme Osage is told in the records of Louisiana Territory. About 1790, weary and despondent over his failure to secure titles to his lands in Kentucky, and burdened with debts which he could not pay, the ruggedly honest old pioneer gave up all the acres that he possessed in the now famous bluegrass region, and removed with his family to the valley of the Kanahwa. He located in what was then the northwestern part of the State of Virginia, but now within the limits of Mason county, West Virginia, not far from the town of Point Pleasant. The Northwest Territory was already beginning to be occupied by thrifty pioneers, and it was believed that the Kanawha valley was a good place to settle and catch the drift of trade as it flowed by from the Atlantic States to the new and expanding West.

Soon after the removal to the Kanawha country, Daniel M. Boone, a favorite son, and also a pioneer of distinction, ventured into the Louisiana Territory on a hunting and trapping expedition. The fame of his father had preceded him and he was most kindly treated by the Spanish authorities at St. Louis. The Lieutenant-Governor, Senor Zenon Trudeau, suggested that if his father, the celebrated Colonel Boone, would remove to Louisiana, the king would appreciate the act and treat him handsomely. The younger Boone thereupon sent back such glowing accounts of the warmth of his welcome, the richness of the soil, the excellence of the climate, and the plentifulness of game, that the imagination of the old pioneer was inflamed; and disposing his family and his few earthly belongings on packhorses, he led the way on foot across the present States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to the north bank of the Missouri river, in what is now the upper part of St. Charles county. This journey was made in 1795, when Boone was in his sixty-first year,

and a glance at the map will show the magnitude of the undertaking. The old man walked every foot of the way, with his rifle on his shoulder, through the trackless wilderness, a large part of which was infested by bands of bloodthirsty savages. The fact that he made the journey and brought his family through in safety attests the greatness of the man.

On their arrival in St. Louis, Colonel Boone and his family were treated by the Spanish officers as distinguished guests. The freedom of the city was extended to them. The American and Spanish flags were displayed side by side, and the garrison was paraded in honor of the distinguished pioneer of Kentucky. No function of courteous hospitality was left unperformed; and before their departure the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor presented Colonel Boone with a grant for 1,000 arpents of land, to be located where he pleased in the "District of the Femme Osage." The district then embraced everything north of the Missouri river and indefinitely westward to the "South Sea." It was large enough to satisfy a man even of Colonel Boone's expansive ideas; but he chose to locate the grant in the rich bottom lands of the Missouri river, four or five miles below the present town of Augusta. There he built his first cabin within the limits of Missouri. close by the uncertain banks of the shifting stream. The land and the cabin have long since been swallowed by the caving-in of the banks, and the river now flows where the Boone arpents lay. Here he and his son, Daniel M., undertook to build a town, which they called Missouriton in honor of the river on whose banks it stood. For a while the place flourished, and after the cession of Louisiana to the United States it was proposed to locate the capital of the Territory there. But the town, like the cabin and the land, has long since fallen into the river. Nothing remains to mark its site, and no memory of the place lingers in the neighborhood except a country postoffice called Missouriton, kept by a farmer who lives some distance from where the old town stood.

A year or two after his arrival, the Spanish authorities entered into a contract with Colonel Boone to bring one hundred American families to Upper Louisiana, for which he was to receive a grant for 10,000 arpents of land, to be laid, as the others had been, in the Femme Osage district. The contract was fully complied with by both parties, but Boone lost his land by neglecting to have his grant confirmed by the Spanish Governor at New Orleans. There were no public mails then in Louisiana Territory, and a trip to the southern capital was too great an undertaking merely to secure the signature of the Governor. Meanwhile the transfer of the Territory was made to the United States, and it was then too late for Boone to have his title confirmed. Subsequently, on the 24th of December, 1813, Congress, by special act, confirmed his title to the Spanish grant of 1,000 arpents. This tract he soon afterward sold and applied the proceeds to the payment of his Kentucky debts; so that, in the end, he died landless, for the farm and the stone mansion in the Femme Osage valley belonged to General Nathan Boone.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Femme Osage district had increased to such proportions as to require a local government, and on the 11th of June, 1800, Colonel Boone was appointed commandant of the district. It was about that time, or perhaps a little earlier, that he built the cabin near the spring in the Femme Osage valley and removed his family there. The duties of his office were both civil and military, and his decision in all cases was final, except those involving land titles, which were referred to the crown or its immediate representative. Punishment for crime or misdemeanor was of the most summary character. The accused, if proven guilty, was tied up and whipped, the number of lashes being proportioned to the nature of his offense. A hickory sapling that stood in the yard near the spring served as a whipping-post. That kind of punishment met the requirement of the age, and no thief or breaker of the law was ever known to resent a judgment rendered by Daniel Boone. He held his court under the spreading branches of a large elm tree, which still

stands on the bank a few feet above the spring, and is known as "Daniel Boone's Judgment Tree." Here, dressed in buckskin hunting-shirt and pantaloons and moccasins of the same material, and seated at the roots of the old tree, he propounded the law and dispensed justice to his assembled neighbors in a manner that never failed to win their approval. If a hog-thief, or one who had put his mark on his neighbor's shoats, pleaded guilty or was proven so, he was promptly "whipped and cleared," as they expressed it. That ended the trouble, and the culprit went about his business with no further annoyance or loss of caste in the community. Fortunately, there were no capital offenses committed in the district during Boone's administration, and he was never called upon to condemn a murderer.

The stone house, or mansion, was completed in 1813. It has been represented as the first stone house erected west of the Mississippi; but this is a probable error, for houses of that material were built in St. Louis, and doubtless also in Ste. Genevieve, at an earlier date. But they were not such houses as the Boone mansion. That was the product of the joint labors of the old Colonel and his son, General Nathan Boone, assisted by their slaves, and several years were devoted to the work. The walls were composed of blue limestone, neatly chiseled, and are about two feet thick. The size of the building, measured on the outside of the walls, is twenty-eight by forty-six feet, with a height of twenty-two feet. A hall nine feet wide runs through the center of the first and second stories, with doors opening into the rooms on either side. The rooms are large and uncomfortable in appearance, and have no closets or other conveniences known to modern architecture. Yet a great deal of work was expended in some features of their ornamentation. The entire structure is divided into seven rooms, three on the first floor, and two each on the second floor and in the attic. A portico ornaments the north front, and a double veranda the south. The marks of the hammers and chisels on the stones are as plainly visible now as they were the day the house was finished, and the plaster that the stones were laid

in was mixed in such a manner that it has become almost as hard as the stone itself. It is said that the plaster was "ripened" by being buried in the ground over winter.

Daniel Boone occupied a little diagonal room to the right of the hall, on the first floor, in the northwest corner of the building. It was partitioned off from the kitchen, which also served as the dining-room, and it is entered by a single door opening into the latter. Two small windows give light from the north. In this room the famous pioneer, hunter and Indian fighter lived during the last few years of his life, and there he died, like an infant falling asleep, on the 26th day of September, 1820. A telephone now hangs on the wall of this room. What a story the old pioneer might tell could he but connect with the other end of the wire!

WILLIAM S. BRYAN.

A GERMAN COMMUNISTIC SOCIETY IN MISSOURI.

(Concluded.)

The beautiful and abundant walnut timber of the North Valley furnished the cabinet maker and joiner splendid material with which to work. For these frugal people not only built their own houses but also made their own furniture. From their flax fields they obtained linen, and from their flocks of sheep they gained wool for their clothes. At first the spinning wheel and hand-loom performed this labor but later machinery, run by steam, took their places. The colony hatter made felt hats from the fleece of lambs and the fur of rabbits. In brief, they made everything they needed, excepting drugs and medicines, all in a small way, but sufficient for their own use. At Hebron, which was once a cluster of colony houses but which is now represented by two lone farm houses, is located the old colony cemetery. Here the resting places of the honest toilers are marked by humble limestone tombs, made by the colonists themselves. It seems to me, that of all the manifestations of skill in the colony, these memorials to the departed show least care and ability. Perhaps the concern for the living absorbed their time and energy so completely that the dead could not claim much attention.

Sharing things in common, it was but natural that common places should be provided for the protection of their live stock. For their horses a huge barn one hundred and twenty by forty-eight feet was constructed at Bethel. In style it was what is commonly known as a Pennsylvania bank-barn, with a basement-like arrangement where the animals were kept and a tremendous loft for the hay and grain. There was also a separate barn for the protection of the work-cattle, also a tremendous pigsty, and at Hebron,

a large barn for the cows and stock-cattle Thus they took the most excellent care of their animals, and in this respect they should have been an illustrious example to the early Shelby County farmer, who left his stock in the open the year around.

For Dr. Keil, their leader, the colonists erected a large dwelling in Elim which is one and a fourth miles from Bethel. This house is still standing and seems to be in a perfect state of preservation. In the days when this structure was erected, it must have been a veritable palace among the houses of that region. It is constructed of brick and stone, fifty-two by thirty-six feet in size and two and a half stories high. Its hardwood finish would be the pride of a New York millionaire, but of course in those days it was the only timber obtainable. It is said that Keil protested against this tremendous expenditure of time and labor. But his followers who truly idolized him would not suffer him to dwell in a house as humble as their own. It is further stated that Keil, whether for effect or some other reason, lived in this palatial residence only for a short time. Against the protest of his followers, he moved into a simple brick house, and at one time even left Bethel to dwell in an humble wooden shack in Nineveh. Keil was ever a roving, restless man who always liked to play to the galleries.

Another large building at Bethel which deserves to be mentioned here is the one which the colonists called "Das grosse Haus"—the large house. In one part of it the colony store was kept. Another part represented the hotel, famed for its excellent meals. The rest of the building was designated as a dwelling place for those of the colony who had no kin with whom to reside. Most of the inhabitants of this house were unmarried men.

There remains still another form of building to be mentioned here. It is the old German bake-oven which stood out in the yard. One of them is still standing. It is a rude structure of stone and brick. To bake the bread a huge fire was built in this oven. When the brick and stone had become thoroly heated, the fire and ashes were withdrawn

and the fireplace thoroly swept. Then the dough which was contained in small baskets about a foot in diameter made of hickory shavings, was placed into the space where the fire had been, and allowed to bake in the heat which radiated from the superheated brick.

All the manufacturing at Bethel and Nineveh was carried on in a small way only. The intent was to supply the colony with everything it needed. However, of some things there was a surplus, and this was sold to outsiders. The chief support of the society was agriculture, for which the surrounding land afforded ample opportunity. At the time of dissolution the society owned 3,536 acres of land in Shelby County and 731 acres in Adair County. The land in Adair County was not as valuable as that in Shelby. Parts of it were subject to inundation. But the chief cause why this land was bought in Adair County was the presence of coal in this region. Then too it was believed that the Chariton river would furnish much needed water power.

There was apparently but little in the Bethel community to break the monotony of everyday life. An occasional dance, a picnic, a festival occasion, as described in another place, and weekly band concerts seem to have been about all the diversions for the weary workers. To be sure in their band they had a source of pleasure which their neighbors had to do without. To judge from reports, the work of this band was excellent. Under the able management and direction of Henry Finck this organization gained an enviable reputation. Their instruments are said to have been very fine. Among the curios which are shown to the inquisitive visitor is an old bass drum which was made by the colonists themselves and which is still in perfect condition. Of course we expect more from a settlement of this nature, but when it is considered how little diversion other settlements of that day had, it will be agreed that Bethel lived in pretty gay style.

In matters educational the colonists did not have very great advantages. A common school was of course established, and for years was under the management of Moses

Miller. In later years Karl Ruge—a college bred man—took charge and conducted the work till he moved to Oregon with Keil. After this some women taught, much in the manner in which the work had been begun, that is, all the work was in the English language, altho all the members were Germans. Beyond the most elementary training but few aspired. Keil himself was opposed to higher education, holding that it was non-essential in making good workers for the society. His position is made clear in the interview which Nordhoff quotes in the work above cited. (13) There it appears that a young man would be permitted to go to college, at the expense of the colony, provided he acquired some knowledge which would bring immediate benefit to the colony. If he simply chose to acquire a broader view of things by means of a liberal course of training, he was not permitted to go. On the whole Keil's attitude toward the intellectual life of his charge leaves much to be wished for. In fact his severity and his autocratic rule had a stultifying and dwarfing effect on the minds of his people. As some outsiders have told me, he did not wish his members to know too much, nor to mingle with the world too freely, for then they would have lost some of their docility. Men with considerable learning came into the society, as was shown above, but in the colony the young people did not get beyond the training in the three Rs.

The German language was neglected in the school because there seemed to be no immediate pecuniary return arising from the use of this tongue. The most natural result was that the German language lost its hold on the younger generation. When I speak of German here, I mean the classical High German. The people at Bethel still speak German and even delight in doing so when they meet among themselves. But in a great many instances it is the rather perverted speech of the Pennsylvania German. Some of the people at Bethel are descendents of Germans who came to Pennsylvania in the 18th century. To this lack of interest in German education is to be attributed the abandonment of

13. P. 317.

the German Methodist church in Bethel. In an effort to become Americanized some of the names were distinctly anglicized. Possibly the most flagrant cases of such changing are found in the cases of John Knight whose German name was Johann Knecht, and the Mileys whose German name was Maile.

Politically most of the Bethel Germans are Republicans. Bethel township is the only Republican township in Shelby County. During the Civil War these Germans maintained a strict neutrality. This was done upon the advice and strict order of Dr. Keil who, knowing that the entire adjoining country was on the side of the Confederacy, feared a devastation of their property and an annihilation of his charge. An interesting story is told in "History of Monroe and Shelby Counties." (14) A body of Confederate sympathizers under Porter and Greene came down on Bethel. The colony, being apprised of their coming, hid many of their things. Nevertheless the troops foraged some, but they did no personal injury. When later on a body of Union soldiers came through that region, they asked that the colonists should name to them their neighbors who were Confederate sympathizers, in order that they might forage among them and leave their friends unmolested. No, said they, these men are our neighbors and our friends with whom we live in harmony and peace, you shall not molest them. If you need food, we have plenty, help yourselves. If you need food for your animals, we have enough of that also, take it, but leave our friends undisturbed. It is said that neither Union or Confederate soldiers, coming near Bethel after this incident, would disturb a people so generous and peaceloving.

One of the most embarrassing things in the preparation of this study is the fact that it is absolutely impossible to obtain an accurate account of their business transactions. The fact is that only very few accounts were kept, and these few have been carelessly dealt with and have apparently been lost. Nordhoff seems to have had the same experience. He says concerning the Oregon branch of the society the

14. P. 866.

following: (15) "I asked the purchasing agent about the bookkeeping of the place; he replied, 'As there is no trading, few accounts are needed. Much of what we raise is consumed on the place, and of what the people use no account is kept. Thus if a family needs flour, it goes to the store and gets what is required. If butter, it goes to the store in the same way. We need only to keep account of what we sell of our own products, and of what we buy from abroad, and these accounts check each other. When we make money, we invest it in land." For the reasons thus given it is impossible to arrive even at a comparative estimate of the financial condition and the extent of the business transactions of the society. If the statement is true that they invested their savings in land, we shall yet have a chance of seeing something of their financial condition, when we discuss the settlement of the business affairs at the time of the dissolution of the community.

All the transactions of the society were based on confidence. The land was deeded to individuals who held it in trust for the society; the foremen of the various industries made no reports, and even after the removal of Keil to Oregon the Trustees at Bethel did not have to render him an account of their transactions. The most perfect confidence and trust existed among the members of the colony.

In some accounts of the Bethel society it is stated that the members were not allowed to marry outside of the colony. Upon an interrogation as to the truth of this statement it was most emphatically denied by the surviving members, and incidents quoted where such marriages had been contracted without any interference on the part of the superiors whatever.

At various times I have alluded to the Aurora, Oregon, Colony as a branch of the Bethel Society. For the sake of understanding the concluding part of the Bethel account it will be necessary to speak a word of the Oregon Colony also. It was already stated that Keil was a very restless man. The region around Bethel soon became too thickly

15. P. 315.

settled. He feared that his people would become contaminated by contact with the "World," as he called it. As is well known, the California gold fever made known the far distant West to all the world. Keil became very much interested in the West, and resolved to send a delegation of his men out there to investigate the Oregon country in particular, to see in how far it would suit the conditions of his colony. He entertained the hope that out there he could take his people and that there, uncontaminated by outsiders, he could continue to rule them. Accordingly, some time in 1854 the following men were sent to the Pacific coast to look up a favorable location for the colony: Christian Giesy (who also took his wife with him), Adam Schuele, Joseph Knight, John Stauffer, Sr., John Stauffer, Jr., Michael Schaefer, and John Genger. A majority of these men reported favorably on a region, not in Oregon, but in the Willapa Valley, in Washington Territory.

In the spring of 1855 serious preparations were begun for the transcontinental journey. Fortunately I am in possession of the complete account of the tedious trip across the plains. Being dictated by Keil himself, it must be taken for its full value. It teems with interesting and thrilling incidents. I shall publish it in another study which shall deal with both the Bethel and the Aurora communities. About the last part of May or the first part of June the train of seventy-five wagons left Bethel for the western coast. Other trains followed later on. One in 1863 was made up of forty wagons. Smaller groups of men went by water, crossing the continent at Panama. After five months of travel, amid the greatest difficulties, the first train of immigrants reached the region in Washington Territory which had been designated by the deputies. It was found that the place was wholly unsuited to the purpose for which it had been selected. It was mountainous, only small tracts of land could be purchased in a body and communication with the outside world was almost entirely barred. They spent a miserable winter there. The temperature was very low and the temporary houses were very bad. The suffering

was wholly beyond description. Keil who had cursed Missouri, and who in a letter from Fort Kearney, Neb., had congratulated himself that the boundary of the State of Missouri was at last passed, now wished that his charge had never left the flesh-pots of Bethel. Missouri now seemed to all a veritable Eden, and Keil charged the members at Bethel not to dispose of a single foot of land they owned there. The following spring many of the colonists went to Portland, Oregon. The first letter of Keil which bears the stamp of Portland is dated March 28th, 1856. Here Keil took up his medical practice again, and continued to be thus employed until June, 1857. He had purchased a tract of land in the Willamette Valley in Marion County, Oregon, and had named the site where the new town was to be erected Aurora. Thither he recalled all the members whom he could summon. The first letter written by him from Aurora Mills, as it was then called, was dated June 16th, 1857. All those who were not bound by agreement with some employer, for the able bodied men and women had to get out and earn some money, responded to his call. And now began once more the awful task of establishing new homes, and that in a thickly wooded country. Some of the members deserted the cause and began to shift for themselves.

After establishing the colony in Aurora, Keil wrote the most contradictory letters to his old members in Bethel. Now he urged them to sell out at once and join him in the west, while in the very next letter he pleads with them not to dispose of their belongings. In the later years of his life his letters had a uniform tone, however, namely an earnest appeal to rejoin their brethren on the Pacific coast. It seems, however, that the Missouri branch had lost confidence in Keil. They remained passive to his pleading. Despite the fact that representatives were called from Missouri to Oregon, and committees from Oregon were sent to Bethel, the transfer could not be made. Whether an attempt was made to sell the land at Bethel prior to the general division, I am not able to say. In 1877, December 30th, Dr. William Keil died. Soon the steps were taken to effect the division of the property.

Before I discuss the matter of the separation, however, I wish to refer to a strange fulfillment of a promise on the part of Keil. The latter had promised his favorite son, William, that he should go to the region which had been visited by the deputies who looked for a location. Before this trip could be made the boy took sick and died. The father wished to make good his promise. He also wished to show his people how sacred a promise should be to every one and how one should fulfill a promise even toward the dead. He decided that this boy's body should lead the train of immigrants across the plains. He therefore sent to St. Louis and a metal casket was procured. Into this the boy's body was placed. Since the art of embalming was not practiced in that region at that time, the remaining space in the casket was filled with alcohol. This casket was placed in a specially prepared wagon which was drawn by four mules, and this solemn conveyance headed the train and lead the way across the plains. Thus there took place a funeral procession the like of which has prehaps never been seen a second time in this country. After a five month's journey the young body was interred at Willapa in Washington territory.

After his departure Keil left the affairs of Bethel in the hands of deputy presidents, appointed by himself, and who scarcely dared to act contrary to his wishes. And here was a serious source of discontent. The people wished to have a voice in the selection of their superiors. These deputy presidents were really not responsible to any one, as Keil did not trouble himself with regular reports. They performed all the functions which Keil had performed. They ruled and they preached, but the members could not appeal from their decision. The first deputy president was Dr. Wolf. This man had been prepared as a Lutheran minister in Germany, and was indeed in the service of the ministry in Marietta, Ohio, when he came under the influence of Keil. Wolf was a well educated and very able man. He really looked to the good of the people. Under his rule the people were contented, at least they were satisfied that he was doing the best that could be done for them under the circumstances. Even while Keil

was yet in Bethel, Wolf counciled for the real interests of the people against the opinion of Keil himselff. Some of the old men in Bethel told me that Keil did not like Wolf on this account and tried to suppress him, but that he could not find a man more ably fitted to take charge of things when he left for the west. Wolf remained in charge at Bethel until 1863 when he led a train of forty wagons across the plains. Most of the men were young men. Keil did not wish them to take part in the war which was then raging. To escape being drafted into service they left the country.

The drawing of such large bodies of men, and especially young men, together with large numbers of the best horses, mules and cattle, and the complete equipment for the trans-continental trip was a serious drain on the Bethel Society. It was a handicap which they never entirely overcame, and which prevented them from bringing their colony to that state of perfection which they no doubt would have attained, if they had remained unhampered. Nor were they called upon only at the time of the exodus to assist their brethren, but even after they had gotten out to Washington calls came in for shoes and clothing. Nor is there any record that the immigrants had given anything in return for the contributions thus received.

But to return to the subject of the deputy presidents. After Wolf's departure, Andrew Giesy who will be remembered as one of the young men whom Keil sent out to preach in German settlements, prior to the founding of the Colony. After Giesy's term the reins went into the hands of Jacob G. Miller who still is living in Aurora, Oregon, and to whom I am indebted for many a kindness in the preparation of this account. These deputy presidents not only cared for the temporal welfare of the colonists but also for the spiritual, in so far at least that they preached once every two weeks. Besides these three persons, a fourth, namely, Jacob Findling, a papermaker by occupation, preached occasionally. Keil's defamers declare that Keil had Findling preach at times, in order to amuse himself at the poor man's ridiculous attempts to perform a task for which he was unfitted.

As there was no constitution the organization was a very loose one. There was no contract between the members except an understanding that all should labor for the common cause and all should receive their livelihood from the general supply. Everything went harmoniously until one Henry L. Hoffman sued to recover wages. Hoffman knew very well that he society did not pay any wages to its members, but he decided to sever his connection with the society, and at this juncture resolved to extort some money from the colony. Pay being refused him, he brought suit in the courts of Shelby county. The society having no legal existence, he brought suit against several members of this unincorporated body. In all he brought five suits. All of these cases were taken to Marion county, and in none of them did he recover damages. The history of the connection of the Hoffman family with the Bethel Colony is the following: (16). Hoffman's father joined the society in 1846. In 1848 he severed his connection with the society and went to Hannibal. It was a strict principle of the Bethel Society to reimburse the seceding parties with the amount they had conduced to the common stock. Hoffman having conduced nothing to the stock was paid $25, the amount which was paid to all those retiring who had brought nothing to the general funds. In 1857 Hoffman, Sr., died, leaving a widow and several dependent children, one of whom was the said Henry L. Hoffman, then aged fourteen. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Hoffman returned with her children and begged for readmission in the colony. She conduced nothing to the stock but was taken in. She and her children worked in the society, receiving therefrom the benefits of food, clothing, shelter and schooling. According to the principles of the organization no one was entitled to wages, and so Hoffman's claims were unfounded, he himself having once declared himself a member of the colony. However, in order to avoid hard feelings and to get rid of Hoffman entirely the following settlement was effected. Mrs. Maerks who was Hoffman's

16. The facts in this connection were obtained from the answer filed by Andrew Giesy to the petition of Henry L. Hoffman; Andrew Giesy being the party sued as deputy president of the society.

mother-in-law had contributed some money and it was estimated that her share in the colony was worth about $1200. Hoffman had a child who was the lawful heir to this money. So this amount was paid Hoffman to be held in trust by him for his child. This was precisely the amount which would have been paid these parties at the time of the final settlement. It was paid, however, previous to the time of the final settlement, and so far was a concession which the colony made to adjust the Hoffman affair. It was done more to deal squarely with the little girl than to appease Hoffman.

During the latter part of the colony's existence, Keil sent his son, August, to Bethel as physician and as a sort of overseer. He was in no wise fitted for these tasks. In the first place he was not well trained in medicine, in the second place he possessed no business ability, and finally he was such an inveterate drunkard that no one would intrust life or property into his hands. At first the colonists rejoiced that a Keil was again in their midst. They hoped that some of his father's ability might have been transmitted to the son. In disgrace and unattended the poor man died in a barn at Bethel. Of the large family of Dr. Keil only one son is now living, Emanual Keil, who resides at Aurora, Oregon. None of the children of Keil seem to have had that ability to deal with men in the manner which made him such a distinguished person.

When in 1877 Dr. William Keil died, the knell of the colony was sounded. There appeared no one who could rule with the iron hand of Keil. Even he had found difficulty in doing so toward the last, as is easily seen from his letters. The young people began to see that they, individually, did not possess as much property as their non-communistic neighbors. Here and there arose a longing for individualism. The older generation was not so eager for the new order of things. They were very conscious, that left alone, they, many of them at any rate, would have remained day-laborers all their lives. However, since the former conditions no longer obtained, and since no leader appeared capable to manage and control affairs, it was deemed prudent and necessary by all to effect a speedy di-

vision of the property—first between the two branches in Missouri and Oregon and finally among the respective members of each colony.

In the Recorder's office in Shelby county, Record Volume No. 28, appears the following record under the caption "Bethel Colony to J. G. Miller et al request to sell:" "Whereas there are now resident in said County of Shelby, State of Missouri many persons who are members of a community or colony known as 'Bethel Community' and whereas there are many persons, citizens and residents of the Counties of Marion and Clackamas, State of Oregon, members of and belongng to a colony known as the 'Aurora Community' and whereas both of said communities own and have an interest in common in certain real and personal property, situated in said states of Missouri and Oregon and whereas both of said colonies or communities were during the lifetime of Dr. William Keil under his direction, superintendance and control, who during his said lifetime held property in trust for both the said communities and whereas by reason of the great distance between the said states of Missouri and Oregon and the many difficulties encountered by both said communities in owning, managing and enjoying jointly and in common real and personal estates in different states," etc., therefore it was decided to effect a division of said estates at an early date. According to this same record the following attorneys in fact and agents for the Missouri society were appointed: Philip Miller, Philip Steinbach, John Schaefer, John G. Bauer and Henry Will; while the Oregon society sent the following attorneys in fact and agents: Samuel Miller, Henry Will, (a cousin to the Henry Will from Missouri) and Stephen Smith.

The Bethel colony issued its instructions under seven headings:

1. That the attorneys from both colonists should meet as soon as possible.

2. That they should effect peaceful settlement if possible.

3. That the agents should have absolute power to determine manner and mode of division. "We hereby ratify and confirm in advance all the acts of our said attorneys in fact, or

a majority of them touching and concerning the real estate and property aforesaid."

4. That they should reduce their conclusions to writing.

5. That they should have full power to incur expense legal and othewise in performing this task.

6. That they should have full power and authority to bring to court any members of the Bethel Community, either in the Federal or State Courts to assist in effecting the separation.

7. "After our aforesaid attorneys in fact shall have agreed upon and perfected the division between the two communities of property now in common held, they our said attorneys in fact are authorized and empowered to divide and partition between us according to our respective rights and interests as the same may be found and ascertained by them or a majority of them, all the property real, personal and mixed belonging to the said 'Bethel Community.'"

In testimony whereof we hereunto subscribe our names and affix our seals this the (blank) day of (blank) 1879.

her
Bachert, X Catherina
mark
Bauer, Louisa
Bronson, D.
Bronson, Susan
Ebner, Elizabeth
Erich, Dianah
her
Erich, X Emma
mark
Erich, Hermann
Erich, Peter
Erich, Wilhelmine
Gehrken, Henry
Gehrken, Adelheide
Grossman, Ausgang
Jenny, Annie
Jenny, G.
Keller, Christina
Keller, Daniel
her
Keller, X Mary
mark
Keller, Susanah
Mangold, Henry
Mangold, Margaret
Mangold, Christine
Moffett, George
Moffett, Louisa
Miller, Moses
Noll, Emily
Noll, Melchior
Pflum, Fredrick

her
Grossman, X Elizabeth
mark
her
Grossman, X Elizabeth
mark
her
Grossman, X Susana
mark
Helfenbein, Henry
Schreiver, Henry
Schreiver, Lena
Schreiver, Samuel
Stark, Christina
Stark, Joshua
her
Steinbach, X Elizabeth
mark
Steinbach, George
Steinbach, Pauline E.
Steinbach, Philip
Steinbach, William
Will, Catharina
Will, Catharina
Pflum, Rose
Pflum, Sarah
her
Roser, X Dorothy
mark
Roser, Jacob
Schadle, Matilda
Schadle, Thomas
Schreiver, Christiana
Schreiver, Hanna
Will, Elizabeth
Will, Julius E.
Will, Lorenz
Will, Nicholas
Woerther, Jacob
Ziegler, Clearrelly
Ziegler, Emma
Ziegler, George
Ziegler, Henry
Ziegler, Julia
Ziegler, Mary
Ziegler, Sophia
Ziegler, W. A.

Thus there appear in Bethel 65 signatures. The men appointed as attorneys did not sign this document.

Then follows the part that pertains to the Aurora Community. From the very outset the Aurora people assumed that the Bethel Community should pay them a certain compensation. Similar to the Bethel people they gave their representatives or in case of death or disagreement to two of them power to do the following:

1. To ascertain what if anything should be paid the Bethel Community in the division.

2. To see how the Bethel Community would pay its compensation, if any.

3. Whether payment should be made in cash or in property, when and how paid.

4. To make written, signed report of their agreement.

They too agreed to confirm and ratify in advance all the acts of their agents. "We especially desire the same to be conducted and consumated upon the strictest principles of equity, good conscience and fair dealing," they continued, "Now then trusting wholly in our said agents and attorneys to settle for us with our former friends and relations upon the principles aforesaid, whether the result to us as a community be large or small, or such in amount as we now expect and look for, we do hereby expressly covenant that in so far as we are able, we will and shall accept, agree to and abide by the same whatsoever it may be."

In witness whereof we have hereunto affixed our names and seal this 31 December 1878 and this 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 15 and 16th days of January 1879.

Signed and sealed in the presence of:

URBAN WILL
and
HENRY E. GIESY.

her
*Bachert, X Maria
mark
*Bachert, Michael
Beck, Charles, Jr.
his
*Beck, X Henry
mark
Beck, Louisa
Beck, Sarah
*Beeke, Charles
Beeke, Henry
*Beeke, Johanna
her
Behrens, X Anna
mark
Behrens, Dorothy

Fry, Henry
her
Fry, X Mary
mark
*Fry, William
*Fuchs, Catharine
*Gerken, Deborah
*Gerken, Peter
*Giesy, Anna Barbara
Giesy, A. J.
Giesy, Andrew
Giesy, August
*Giesy, Barbara
Giesy, Barbara A.
Giesy, Catharina
Giesy, Catharina
Giesy, Catharina A.

Bergman, Elizabeth
Boehringer, Catharina
*Brady, Adelhelde
*Brady, Thomas
*Burkholder, Adam
Burkholder, Catharina
Burkholder, Catharina
*Burkholder, Elias
Burkholder, Elias
Burkholder, Jacob
her
Burkholder, X Nancy
mark
Burkholder, Samuel
*Ehlen, Catharine
Ehlen, Clara
*Ehlen, Claus H.
*Ehlen, Elizabeth
Ehlen, Henry
his
*Ehlen, X J. D.
mark
Ehlen, Lorenz
*Ehlen, Maria
*Ehlen, Mary
*Ehlen, William
*Findling, Barbara
*Forstner, Elizabeth
Fry, Anny
Fry, Caroline
*Fry, George M.
*Knobel, Gertrude
*Kocher, Catharine
her
*Kocher, X Catharina
mark
*Giesy, Elizabeth
Giesy, Elizabeth
Giesy, Emily
*Giesy, Emma M.
*Giesy, Frederick
*Giesy, Helena
*Giesy, Jacob
*Giesy, John
Giesy, M.
Giesy, Martha
Giesy, Mary
Giesy, Mathilda
*Giesy, Michael
*Giesy, Rudolph
Giesy, Sarah
*Giesy, Samuel
Giesy, William
his
*Giesy, X William
mark
Gruenbaum, Aaron
*Jost, Conrad
*Jost, Johanna
Keil, Elizabeth
Keil, Emanuel
*Keil, Fredrick
*Keil, Louisa
her
*Knight, X Anna
mark
Scholl, Maria
her
Scholl, X Rebecca
mark

Kocher, Christian
Kocher, Christina
*Kocher, George
*Kocher, Mary
*Kocher, Sophia
Kraus, Christina
*Kraus, Elizabeth
*Kraus, Elizabeth
Kraus, George
*Kraus, Henry
Kraus, William
*Kraus, Wilhelmina
Link, David
*Link, John
*Link, Lavina
Link, Rose
Link, William
Maile, Fredrick
*Meyer, Henry
Miley, Cathrina
Miley, Henry
Miley, Jacob
Miley, William
Miller, Amelia
*Miller, Catharina
*Miller, Catharina
*Miller, Catharine
Miller, Elizabeth
Miller, Gertrude
Miller, George
Miller, Isaac
Miller, Jerdith
his
*Miller, X John
mark
*Miller, Joseph H.
his
*Schreiver, X John
mark
*Schuele, Christina
*Schuele, Mary
Schuette, Mary
*Schwader, Gottlob
Schwader, Jacob
*Schwader, John
Schwader, Louisa
*Schwader, William
Smith, George
her
Smith, X Rosina
mark
*Snyder, Charles
Snyder, Christian
*Snyder, Daniel
her
*Snyder, X Elizabeth
mark
*Snyder, Henry
*Snyder, Henry
*Snyder, Israel
Staps, Adam
his
*Stauffer, X Benedikt
mark
her
*Stauffer, X Caroline
mark
her
*Stauffer, X Catherine
mark
*Stauffer, Elizabeth
Stauffer, Jacob

Miller, Louisa
Miller, Louisa
Miller, Mathilda
*Miller, Salamon
*Miller, William
Miller, William H.
her
*Mohler, X Elizabeth
mark
her
*Mohler, X Mary
mark
Preutz, Louisa
her
*Rapps, X Catharine
mark
her
*Rapps, X Maragaret
mark
*Rapps, Michael
her
*Remport, X Catharine
mark
*Ruge, Karl
*Schaefer, Michael
*Schaefer, Michael, Jr.
*Scharmann, Sophia
Schmidt, Martha
Schneider, Catharine
*Scholl, A. D.
*Scholl, David
*Scholl, G. F.
Scholl, Fredrick
*Scholl, John
*Scholl, Louis
his
*Stauffer, X Jacob
mark
*Stauffer, John
Stauffer, John
*Stauffer, Maria
*Stauffer, Mary
*Stauffer, Rosina
his
Stauffer, X Theodore
mark
her
*Steinbach, X Catherine
mark
*Steinbach, Daniel
*Steinbach, David
his
Steinbach, X George
mark
Steinbach, Hannah
*Steinbach, Jacob
*Steinbach, J. Adam
Steinbach, Margareta
Ulbrand, Diedrich
*Voght, Henry
Voght, Louisa
her
Voght, X Mary
mark
*Voght, Andy
*Wagner, Catharina
Wanner, Fredrick, Sr.
*Wanner, John
Wanner, Joseph

*Webber, Mariana
her
*Weyman, X Maria
mark
*Will, Christina
Will, Christina
her
*Will, X Dorothea
mark
Will, Elizabeth
Will, Elizabeth P
Will, Emma
Will, Fredrick
Will, George
Will, Henrietta
*Will, John
Will, Louisa
her
Will, X Mary
mark
Will, Matilda
Will, Sarah
Will, Susana
her
*Will, X Susana
mark
Will, Thriphine
*Will, Urban
*Will, Wolfgang
*Woerner, Fredrick
Wolf, W. C.
Wolfer, Adelia
*Wolfer, Benjamin
her
Wolfer, X Catharine
mark
Wolfer, Christian
Wolfer, Christina
his
*Wolfer, X Davis
mark
*Wolfer, George
*Wolfer, John
*Wolfer, Margaret
*Wolfer, Marie
*Wolfer, Rudolph
Wolfer, Sarah
*Wolfer, Samuel
Wolfer, William
Ziegler, George
Zimmerman, Catharine
Zimmerman, Christine
his
*Zimmerman, X David
mark
Zimmerman, Elizabeth
her
*Zimmerman, X Elizabeth
mark
her
*Zimmerman, X Mary
mark
her
Zimmerman, X Mary
mark

From these official signatures it appears that Aurora had 236 members at the time of dissolution. As is the case of the Bethel Community the agents sent to bring about the settlement did not sign the paper. According to the statement

of some of the old members at Bethel, the names indicated with an asterisk were personally known to them as former members of the Bethel Society. I make no claim as to the accuracy of this marking, having no data by which to check it myself. Most probably it is nearly correct, and in such a case we would have at least a partial list of those who once lived in Missouri. In twenty-four years a great many of the older generation must have passed away, and a great number of the younger generation must have come into the society.

The joint committee, whose powers are officially attested in the above record, at once proceeded to business. In the Recorder's office of Shelby County, Record Vol. 31, at pp. 1 to 19 is found the extremely lengthy record of the agreement concerning the division of property between the two communities. This agreement is dated June 20th, 1879. The document is very detailed in the description of the real estate. It is shown that the society owned 3536 acres of land in Shelby County, Missouri, valued at $42447.50. Also town property in Bethel, Missouri, valued at $10728.00. Smaller tracts of land near Bethel, a corn crib, a grist mill with machinery in Bethel, valued together at $7475.00. Furthermore 731 acres of land in Adair County, Missouri, valued at $2790.00. Also the following personal property in Adair County, Missouri: Cash from the sale of lands $683.85, Promissory notes do.$204.00, together $887.85. The estimate of the property in Oregon as to its value was $45478.00. (It should be remarked here that the Oregonians did make as careful an appraisement of their property as the Missourians had made but made a bold guess at what their property was worth.)

To recapitulate then, it is found that the society owned the following estates:

Real estate in Shelby County, Missouri	$ 42447.50
Town lots in Bethel, Missouri	10728.00
Other lots and improvements in Bethel, Mo	7475.00
Property in Oregon	45478.00
Real estate in Adair County, Missouri	2790.00
Cash and Notes in Adair County, Missouri	887.85
Total valuation	$109806.35

The writ continues thus: "And we the said attorneys and agents acting further in pursuance of the said power and authority, find that the total valuation of said property is $109806.35, and having fully examined the question as to the rights and interests of the two communities therein, find that the "Bethel Community" is entitled to $47214.25 part thereof and that the "Aurora Community" is entitled to $62592.10 the residue thereof. And we the said attorneys and agents do hereby allot and set apart to the "Bethel Community" the following described property, (here follows the description of the property), valued as hereinafter set forth, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of $47028.00 (?)(Here manifestly an error has occurred. The correct sum of $47214.25 which has been quoted once before, appears on a line that was manifestly erased. The erasure and corresponding correction was, by oversight, no doubt, not made in the second instance when the sum was recorded.)

The Bethel Community was allowed the following property:

Land valued at	$ 36425.00
Lots valued at	10603.00
Fractions of land near Bethel, Mo., valued at	186.25
	$ 47214.25

The share which the Aurora Community was allowed was made up in the following manner:

Property in Marion and Clackamas Counties in Oregon, valued at	$ 45478.00
Lots in Bethel, Mo., valued at	500.00
One corn crib, valued at	100.00
One grist mill and machinery valued at	7000.00
530 acres of land in Adair County, Mo., valued at	2790.00
508 acres of land in Shelby Co., Mo., valued at	5836.25
Cash and promissory notes	887.85
Total paid to Aurora	$ 62592.10

The agents subjoined the following note: "In making the division and partitions the said attorneys and agents of

said communities found certain fraction lots, adjoining and near the city of Bethel which for want of proper survey and description they were not able to inventory which said fractional parcels of land they have valued together at $186.25 and alloted the same to the Bethel Community."

Then follow the signatures of the five agents of Bethel and the three from Aurora. Moses Miller as notary public and William Haeffner and Julius E. Will, as the two witnesses, attested the signatures. The document was filed with Recorder John J. Bragg, on June 23rd, 1879.

According to the foregoing stipulations the Bethel Community was obliged to pay to the Aurora Community the sum of $17114.10 in cash, endorsement of old notes and real estate and personal property. When I asked one of the ex-members of the Bethel Society whether they did not regard this sum excessive, they said that they did think it exorbitant, in view of the fact that they had contributed so largely to the equipment of the trains that crossed the plains, and since they had to suffer the drain of the best workmen from the society. But since the Oregonians came determined to receive certain emoluments, and everybody being weary of the affair, they acquiesced in what they at that time regarded a rather presumptious demand.

Altho the agents had some very stormy meetings, and sometimes had to adjourn for several days to "cool off," all ended harmoniously. The entire settlement was made without a sign of a lawsuit. There being no written compact, no provision was made for a possible dissolution. Hence the problem before these men was a unique one. The Bethelites consulted an attorney at law at Shelbyville, who charged them $50 for—as one of the old men put it—telling them that he knew nothing about that sort of thing. Finally they consulted the noted counsellor D. P. Dyer of St. Louis, who evolved the scheme by which the division of the property among the members was made, for the trifling sum of $170; the Oregon Society took their affair to the courts of Equity and spent $6000 in effecting their final settlement.

To show in what a detailed and painstaking manner the invoice was taken at the appraisement of Bethel, I subjoin one account, it being that of Philip Steinbach, Sr. It appears under the heading Phil. Steinbach, Sr. and Company. By the term Company is meant those persons who are immediately connected with, related to or dependent upon the larger stockholder whose name leads the account.

Steinbach, Phil. Sr. & Co.	Dr.
1. Cultivator	$ 6.75
3. Horses and 1 Mare	320.00
6. Cows	124.00
1. two year old heifer	23.00
1. Graincradle	2.25
5. Plows	9.75
1. Cornplanter	30.00
1. Wagon and water cart	50.00
2. Wagon sheets	3.00
1. Grindstone	2.50
1. Crosscut saw	2.25
Blacksmith shop and tools	94.90
Saddler shop and tools	150.00
1. Harrow	1.50
1. Sled	4.00
Shoe tools	6.50
1. Hand corn planter	.45
1. Trunk	1.00
1. Cane mill	10.00
1. Drawing knife	.65
1. Wooden vice	1.00
1. Mare	15.00
5. Mules	203.00
1. Mare	30.00
1. Buck sheep	8.00
24. Wethers @ $2.75	66.00
15. Wethers @ $2.21	33.15
17. Wethers @ $2.00	34.00
15. Wethers @ $1.75	26.25
14. Ewes @ $4.00	56.00

13. Ewes @ $3.50	45.50
11. Ewes @ $2.50	27.50
11. Ewes @ $2.75	30.25
1. Two year old heifer	17.00
1. Two year old heifer	15.00
1. Post auger	1.00
1. Two year old heifer	15.00
	$1466.15
	1413.99
	$ 52.16

	Cr.
Steinbach, Phil. Sr. & Co.	
Steinbach, Phil. Sr	$ 575.03
Steinbach, Phil. Jr	283 24
Steinbach, William—wife	125.64
Gerkin, H	355.08
Credit on mare	75.00
	$1413.99

After the general appraisement had been made and the detailed invoice of each man's holdings had been found, the problem was simplified to its lowest terms. When all items were in the form of cash the solution was simple. The first thing that was done was the setting aside of the amount each man or woman had conduced to the general stock. Then the land was divided. To determine what share each should have of the personal property, the whole number of years that all had labored for the society, after they had reached maturity was divided into the sum representing the total of personal property. Thus it was found that of this sum each man was entitled to $7.76 per year for his services and each woman was allowed half this sum, $3.88.

The following is a sample of the simple record that was kept of the account under the caption of "Sum total of Personal Property." The account which I chose again pertains to Philip Steinbach, Sr. et al.

Names.	Years.	Dollars.
Steinbach, Phil. Sr.	34	$263.84
Steinbach, Phil. Wife	34	131.92
Steinbach, William	10	77.60
Steinbach, William, Wife	9	34.92
Steinbach, George	5	38.80
Steinbach, Henry	2	15.52
Credit on land		12.43
Total credit		$575.03

The splendid colony church was sold to Jacob G. Miller for the sum of $1500. Miller was the last leader and preacher and being interested in the good of the people and even hoping to reunite them into a colony, he purchased this building. At a subsequent sale he lost a good deal of money on his investment. This church had not been considered under the general appraisement. But since all the colonists had had a share in its erection and perservation all shared in proportion to the number of years each person had been an active member in the society. It was determined that each male member was entitled to $1.12 of the church money for each year of his membership, while each woman was entitled to 56 cents per year of her membership.

The final account is condensed by the committee in family groups. The following is a sample of the final total account:

Names of Persons.	Years.	Sum Total.
Keller, Daniel	26	$ 725.92
Keller, Daniel, Wife	21	293.16
Keller, Susan	24	335.04
Keller, Christina	18	251.28
Bachert, Widon	34	474.64
Keller, Widow		348.45
Conduced by A. Keller		804.50
Conduced by Widow Bachert		15.66
Church		59.92
		$3308.57

A single glance at these figures suffices to convince one that the pecuniary gain, accruing from the society was not

great. It must be remembered, however, that these people had all their wants supplied and lived without care. Moreover a great many of them, if left to themselves, would have eked out a bare existence as day-laborers. Others, to be sure, were seriously handicapped. Being skilled artisans, they could have gained vastly more wealth if they had plied their trade in individualism.

Many of the old colonists still recall the community day with serene pleasure. 'Das war das Paradies,'' that was paradise, one of them said to me after he had talked reminiscently. ''In der Kolonie war es aber doch so shoen'' was the concluding remark of an old lady who had spent thirty-four years in the society. The association of kindred spirits, the freedom, the ease they enjoyed, the absense of care and responsibility, the fraternal feeling and the devotion to a common cause are topics which all of the old colonists like to speak about. One of the men assured me that the old bond of fellowship still existed among the former members. He said, ''When the old people get together there is still the bond of a great love and this love we believe is God.''

Community life seems not to have unfitted the members for the struggle in individualism. As far as I could learn, all of them are doing well at some trade or prefession. In many instances they are pursuing the same trade which was theirs during their membership in the colony.

After the formal dissolution of the society, Jacob G. Miller, tried to reorganize the society at Bethel. He had a small following. After a very short time, however, this scheme was abandoned and the property of these persons divided among the members concerned.

Bethel was incorporated a town in 1883. It is a small place of about 300 inhabitants. It is located off the railroad. It differs little from the towns of its size in the State except that its buildings seem odd and unusually substantially constructed. There is a general air of uniqueness about the place which is the heirloom of the old community days.

WILLIAM GODFREY BEK,
Instructor in Germanic Languages, University of Missouri.

A DECADE OF MISSOURI POLITICS—1860 TO 1870. FROM A REPUBLICAN VIEWPOINT.*

In the consideration of American political questions, it is well to bear in mind the cardinal facts that, in its travels from the Atlantic coast line westward to the Pacific, by slow and easy stages over mountain and plain for nearly three hundred years, public thought in America has unconsciously been colored and moulded by the three different political and religious schools founded by our ancestors who came to the new world under the first three Royal English grants to our colonists: Jamestown in Virginia in 1607; Plymouth in Massachusetts in 1620 and Charleston in South Carolina in 1670;

That whether descended from Cavalier, Puritan or Huguenot, the average American has inherited many of the thoughts and theories of his ancestors;

That heredity, education and environment largely determine our politics and religion, and that for neither do we deserve either praise or blame any more than we do for the color of our hair.

My present purpose is to discuss and make plain to the young only those historical and political questions, buried in the mists of years, which the old seem to have forgotten and which the young never knew. This I do, not to revive memories which may possibly be unpleasant to the few, but for the sole purpose of vindicating the truths of the history of our fair state, for the benefit of the many.

And you, I feel sure, will consider such facts, as I do, "with malice toward none, with charity for all," and will agree with me that a free people should never fear to review their past, nor fail to look with confidence and hope for the

*A paper read by Judge H. C. McDougal, of Kansas City, before the society at its third annual meeting March 8, 1904.

future; that the channel of history should never be diverted, nor its clear waters polluted, and that "to search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man! its publication a duty."

Born and reared in that part of Virginia which in June, 1863, became the State of West Virginia, I am still proud of the glory and achievements of the Old Dominion, and proud of the fact that during the Civil War I served in the Union Army as one of the 32,000 volunteers furnished by West Virginia—"the Child of the Storm."

Then, coming westward at the close of that mighty struggle, I became, and have ever since had a commendable pride in being a citizen of Missouri, identified with and a part of her growth, development, greatness and glory; working in harmony with the people in upbuilding the material interest of this great State, and during all these years I have been proud of the fact that I have been and today am a Missouri Republican, and before I get through, I'll tell you why.

EARLY HISTORY—BENTON AND ANTI-BENTON.

At the close of a political struggle, which for length, intensity and bitterness, had no parallel in the history of our country, up to that date, Missouri finally became a State of the American Union on August 10, 1821, and at the next session of Congress, in December of that year, our first two United States Senators were admitted to their seats, David Barton as a Whig and Thomas Hart Benton as a Democrat.

Up to near the close of his illustrious career as our most distinguished U. S. Senator, the great Benton ruled the Democratic party of Missouri, not as leader or boss, but as absolute master.

Although a Southern slave holder and loyal to his party in all else, yet Benton favored the gradual emancipation of the slaves, opposed the extension of slavery in the Territories and became what was then called a "Free Soiler." Among his earnest enthusiastic, active and aggressive followers were Francis P. Blair, Jr., Thomas L. Price, B. Gratz Brown, James B. Gardenhire, Samuel T. Glover, Robert W. Wells

(then U. S. District Judge), and many other stalwart Democrats of that time, most of whom were also Southern slaveholders, and the war raged between the Benton and Anti-Benton factions from the adoption of the "Jackson Resolutions" in 1849 up to the commencement of the Civil War.

With prophetic eye, Benton saw the coming storm, believed in the gradual emancipation of the slaves as the surest way to avert civil war, instilled these principles into his followers, and when he died, on April 10, 1858, his broad mantle fell upon the strong shoulders of that prince of chivalric, peerless leaders of men—Frank P. Blair.

Among the many important results of this factional fight in the Democratic party, was the election, in 1851, of Henry S. Geyer, an ardent Henry Clay Whig, as Benton's successor in the United States Senate; and another, curiously interesting, was that in 1856 Benton's Free Soil followers purchased a large tract of land at the mouth of Gray's creek, three miles above Jefferson City, on the Missouri, platted it, sold lots and erected many buildings with a view to there establishing the Free Soil city of Upper Jefferson and laid the foundation of a large university for the propagation of the doctrines of their majestic, imperious leader. His death, the changed conditions and the approaching war, caused the abandonment of this enterprise.

GOVERNOR JACKSON'S ACTION AND THE CONVENTION OF 1861-1863.

In 1860 Claiborne F. Jackson was elected Governor of Missouri as a Douglas Democrat, but early became the recognized leader of the secession wing of his party. The General Assembly elected on the ticket with him, also favored secession. Soon after the inauguration of Governor Jackson and upon his recommendation, George Graham Vest introduced a bill, which became the law by the Act of January 21, 1861, providing for the election of delegates to a State Convention, which was required to assemble at Jefferson City on February 28th, 1861, to "consider the then existing relations between the Government of the United States and

the people and government of the several States," and "to adopt such measures as should appear to be demanded for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and preserving its institutions," etc., (Laws Mo., 1861, pp. 20-21).

The open and avowed object of the Governor and the Legislature in so calling that Convention was to take Missouri out of the Union.

The result of the election, however, showed beyond question that the Governor and his secession allies had mistaken the political sentiment of the people, for the only question discussed by people and press in that short, vigorous, earnest campaign was: "Shall Missouri remain in the Union, or join the seceded States?"

The men of Missouri not only loved the Union on principle, because it was right, but there was this additional personal and financial consideration which led them to oppose secession. They knew that if Missouri joined the Confederacy, war was not only certain to result, but that, surrounded as she was on three sides by Northern States, Missouri would be what Virginia afterward was—the battle ground of that war.

Hence, upon a popular vote, the men of Missouri decided by a majority of over 80,000 to stand by the Union, and of its ninety-nine members not a single avowed Secessionist was elected as a delegate to that Convention; nor, upon the other hand, was there a single Republican elected.

This Convention first assembled at Jefferson City on the day appointed, and, upon the motion of James O. Broadhead, organized by electing as its president, General Sterling Price, the vote being seventy-five for Price, Democrat, and fifteen for Robert Wilson, Whig. Later, on March 4th, it convened at the Mercantile Library Hall in St. Louis, and continued its sessions at such times and places as the public good seemed to require, from this time on to July 1, 1863, when it adjourned sine die.

For brains, learning, wisdom, eloquence, courage and patriotism, this Convention outranks any body of men ever assembled within the borders of Missouri, and the student

of those troublous times will search its literature and history in vain for more earnest, fervid, eloquent and patriotic appeals for the Union than those then delivered by the Democratic members of that Convention.

"There were giants in the earth in those days;" many of them right here in Missouri, and one of my purposes is to rescue from the wide waste of oblivion the name, fame, and achievements of those great ones who in the war of the '60's were always at the fore front of the fight for the right; to rekindle the fires of patriotism; brighten fame growing dim in the flight of the years, and now slowly drifting out of sight like thistle-down from an old field in autumn. If I succeed in this, and at the same time illuminate the pages of history of the times, I shall not have thought and wrought in vain.

Among the many distinguished Democrats who were elected to and took their seats in that Convention are found the names of many who will be remembered and honored with pleasure and pride by every loyal Missourian as long as Missouri is known in history. Among others may here be mentioned Willard P. Hall, of Buchanan County, afterwards Governor of the State; William A. Hall, of Randolph; Uriel .Wright, Ex-Governor Robert M. Stewart, James O. Broadhead, later minister to Switzerland; Thomas T. Gantt, afterwards judge of the St. Louis Court of Appeals; Hamilton R. Gamble, later Provisional Governor of the State; John How, of St. Louis; George W. Dunn, of Ray, for many an honored judge of the Circuit Court in Clay and [illegible] Counties; John F. Philips, of Pettis, now United States district judge at Kansas City; Vincent Marmaduke, Joseph Bogy, A. Comingo, afterwards member of Congress from the Kansas City district; Judge James H. Birch, the elder, of Clinton County; General A. W. Doniphan and James H. Moss, of Clay; J. Proctor Knott, later Governor of Kentucky; A. C. Marvin, of Henry; Sample Orr, of Greene; Robert D. Ray and Elijah H. Norton, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri; Samuel L. Sawyer, later circuit judge and member of Congress from the Kansas City dis-

trict; Thomas Shackelford, of Howard; Judge James McFerran, of Gallatin, then a circuit judge; Colonel J. H. Shanklin, of Trenton, member of the constitutional convention of 1875, nearly all then lifelong Democrats, and all Democrats after that date. While the only two men then in that convention, who afterwards attained prominence as Republicans were John B. Henderson and Joseph W. McClurg, and they were Democrats when elected. And standing shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, with these members of that convention were such Missourians as Frank P. Blair, Samuel T. Glover, B. Gratz Brown, John S. Phelps, James S. Rollins, Silas Woodson, Charles H. Hardin, Ex-Governor Austin A. King, Judge John F. Ryland, Thomas T. Crittenden, John P. Sebree, Robert W. Wells and Thomas L. Price—Democratic lions in the path of disunion. Four of those last named were afterwards Democratic Governors of Missouri—Woodson, Hardin, Phelps and Crittenden. All then studiously avoided any political connection or affiliation with either of the two great political parties; would as soon have been called "Secessionists" as "Black Republicans," and simply, firmly and grandly stood for the Union.

It is a now remarkable fact, here worthy of parenthetical note, that of the men whom I have named, all, excepting four (How, Phelps, Sawyer and Stewart) were of Southern blood and breeding—born, reared and educated in Southland—and, while gradual emancipationists, yet nearly, if not all, of them were then the owners of negro slaves. To me this is not strange, for in my native country, the conditions were then the same as here, and in the company of loyal Virginians, in which I enlisted in the summer of 1861, there were thirteen slaveholders, not a man in that company had any quarrel with the institution of slavery, and if there was at that time either a Republican or Abolitionist in our regiment, I did not know it. But war educates. The superb courage, lofty patriotism and sterling devotion to the Union of many Southern slaveholders, seems beyond the comprehension of, and never has been, and perhaps never will be, understood or appreciated by the people of the North. But

their record is a glorious one, and high above all others on fame's eternal roll of loyalty the recording historian of the future will yet inscribe the names of the loyal heroes of the South who loved Union more than slavery, laid their all upon their country's altar and fearlessly followed the old flag.

It is true that no member of that Convention was elected as either a Whig, Democrat or Republican, for in the public peril of 1861, neither man nor measure was here considered upon old party lines; party names were swept away, swallowed up, lost and forgotten; party organizations dissolved and intelligent public thought, wrought to highest intensity, was focused upon the one great, grave question: Union or Secession, which? Upon the one side stood the Union men of Missouri under the splendid leadership of gallant, glorious Frank P. Blair; while upon the other side stood the pronounced Secessionists under the leadership of the no less brave, intrepid Claiborne F. Jackson.

It is also true that in the fierce and bitter storm of war, some of these great men were swept from their political moorings. General Sterling Price, Vincent Marmaduke, Uriel Wright, and perhaps other strong Union men when elected, as well as during the first session of the Convention, going into the Confederate Army, whilst John B. Henderson and Joseph W. McClurg, became pronounced and distinguished Republicans—yet the great majority of that convention were lifelong Democrats.

But do not forget that during the four years' war, the great majority of the Democratic members of that Convention, acting upon and within the powers conferred, adopted and enforced such war measures as in their wisdom they deemed absolutely necessary for the good government, peace and preservation of the integrity of the State; that they then stood shoulder to shoulder with the 17,000 Republicans who in 1860 had voted for Lincoln; acted in harmony with and had the confidence and friendship of the national Republican administration, and that their hearts beat in patriotic sympathy with the great heart of the pivotal figure of the war—Abraham Lincoln. "Render therefore, unto Caesar the

things which are Caesar's," was the perpetual injunction issued long ago by the Master. Yielding obedience to that injunction, not grudgingly, but with pleasure and pride, I say to you that these Democrats and to the small band of their Republican allies, the people of this State owe a deep, lasting, yet unappreciated debt of gratitude. But for their combined wisdom, loyalty, patriotism and courage, that bright star, now of the fifth magnitude, which today glitters in our country's flag to the name of Missouri, would have been torn from its place and for years wandered in the outer darkness of secession. While the handful of Republicans then in the State, and especially the German element in and around St. Louis, under the leadership of such men as Thomas C. Fletcher, did the full measure of their duty in bringing about this result, yet the truth of history must and will accord to the then loyal Democrats of this State the high honor of saving Missouri to the Union. Of the many patriotic Missourians of that day who are here named, only half a dozen are on earth today! the others have slumbered for years and years in their graves—their great souls out in that veiled hush and voiceless desert which we call eternity—"and their works do follow them." In the years that yet shall be, generations of Missourians now unborn will study the character and achievements of these men, and then with reverence shall say: Honor to the memory, peace to the ashes, rest to the souls of those who saved Missouri to the Union.

EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS TO TAKE MISSOURI OUT OF THE UNION.

When it was apparent to all that actual civil war was on, Governor Jackson convened the General Assembly of the State in called session on May 2, 1861. The Camp Jackson affair at St. Louis occurred on May 10; an exaggerated account of the unfortunate result reached the Governor and Legislature that evening, and was the pretext for calling an "extraordinary session" of the Legislature at midnight on that night. The session was secret and only sixty-seven out of the one hundred and thirty members were present, yet

at that midnight session the Act of May 10, 1861, was passed and approved. This Act authorized the Governor "to take such measures as in his judgment he may deem necessary and proper" to repel invasion or put down rebellion.

The Union troops occupied Jefferson City on June 15, 1861; but before their arrival the Legislature had adjourned and the Governor had fled the capital.

Acting under the authority of this Act of May 10, while temporarily at New Madrid on August 5, 1861, Governor Jackson issued his famous "Declaration of Independence," wherein he solemnly declared that the political connection between the United States "and the people and government of Missouri is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that the State of Missouri, as a sovereign, free and independent Republic, has full power to levy war," etc. Later he again called the Legislature in session—this time at Neosho, on October 21, 1861—and there, on October 28th, they made their third and last ineffectual attempt to take Missouri out of the Union by first passing an Act of Secession, next one of union with the Confederacy, and then adjourned to meet at New Madrid on the first Monday in March, 1862. As there was no quorum of either house present at this session, the acts of the "Neosho Legislature" were practically treated as null and void by all parties. No attempt was made to hold the adjourned session at New Madrid in March, for the reason that the Union forces were then in possession of that part of the State.

Governor Jackson's long years of relentless, stormy struggle for state supremacy ceased only with his frail body, his restless, courageous, yet implacable spirit, both worn and weary from the conflict, finally found rest near Little Rock, Arkansas, on December 2, 1862.

THE LONG CONVENTION AGAIN.

Meanwhile the long convention was holding its sessions, and by the ordinance of July 30, 1861, had declared the offices of governor, lieutenant governor and secretary of state vacant on account of the disloyalty of these officers; created

a provisional State government, and had filled the respective vacancies by the election of Hamilton R. Gamble as Provisional Governor, Willard P. Hall as Provisional Lieutenant Governor and Mordecai Oliver as Secretary of State, to hold their respective offices until the first Monday of the November following. This ordinance further provided that a State election be held on said first Monday of November, 1861, for the election of these three State officers, as well as for members of the General Assembly; but by the ordinance of October 12, 1861, this election was postponed to the first Monday in August, 1862, and later, by the ordinance of June 11, 1862, the convention continued the three officers named in their respective offices "until the first Monday in August, 1864, and until their successors are duly elected and qualified." Under this authority Governor Gamble continued in office until his death in January, 1864, and from that time on Willard P. Hall was the Governor until the inauguration of Governor Fletcher on January 2d, 1865.

Upon the formal expulsion of Waldo P. Johnson and Trusten Polk from the U. S. Senate on January 10, 1862, upon charges of disloyalty, Provisional Lieutenant Governor Willard P. Hall, in the absence of Governor Gamble, appointed Robert Wilson, of Andrew County, and John B. Henderson, of Pike, as their respective successors. Wilson had been an old line Whig and Henderson a Douglas Democrat.

By resolution of June 6, 1862, "unanimously adopted," General Sterling Price and five other members were "expelled from their seats in this convention" upon charges of disloyalty and the seats of three other members were "declared vacant" for like tendencies.

Early in its sessions, and on October 16, 1861, by the decisive vote of 37 to 15, the convention by ordinance provided for the first test oath ever required in Missouri, by saying, "That each civil officer in this State * * * take and prescribe an oath * * * that he will not take up arms against the Government of the United States nor the Provisional Government of this State, nor give aid or comfort to the enemies of either during the present civil war." Fail-

ure to take this oath forfeited the office, and it was made a felony to either falsely take it, or violate it.

At its next session, and on June 10, 1862, the Convention adopted the famous ordinance entitled, "An Ordinance defining the qualifications of voters and civil officers in this State." (Ordinances of the Missouri State Convention, pages 13-14; Laws of Missouri, 1863, pages 687-689.) The material features of this ordinance were as follows:

Section 1 provided that no person should vote at any election in this State, who should not first take an oath to "support, protect and defend" the Constitution of the United States and of this State "against all enemies and opposers, whether domestic or foreign;" that he would "bear true faith, loyalty and allegiance to the United States," and would "not directly, or indirectly, give aid, comfort or countenance to the enemies or opposers thereof, or to the Provisional Government of the State of Missouri;" and further, that he had not "since the 17th day of December, 1861, willfully taken up arms or levied war against the United States, or against the Provisional Government of the State of Missouri."

Section 2 provided that before any person should "be elected or appointed to any civil office within this State" he should take, subscribe and file a somewhat similar oath, the precise form of which was given in that section.

Section 3 provided that any person who should falsely take, or, having taken "any oath prescribed by this ordinance," should violate the same, should be adjudged guilty of the crime of perjury and it was made the special duty of courts to enforce the provisions of this ordinance. The next section is as follows:

"Section 4. The courts of the State shall require all jurymen and attorneys to take and subscribe the following oath:" (which is there set out in full) and then further provides that: "The same oath shall also be taken and subscribed by the President, Professors and Curators of the University of the State of Missouri, by all bank officers, common school teachers who are paid in whole or in part out of funds provided by law, and common school trustees, by all officers of all incorporated companies of this State and by all licensed or ordained preachers of the Gospel before

performing the ceremony of marriage in this State, and filed in any county clerk's office in this State; and every licensed or ordained preacher of the Gospel who shall perform the ceremony of marriage in this State before taking said oath, and every other person aforesaid assuming to discharge the duties pertaining to his avocation under the laws of this State, without complying with the provisions of this section, shall be liable to prosecution in any court of competent jurisdiction in this State, by indictment, and upon conviction shall be punished for each offense by a fine not less than ten nor more than two hundred dollars."

Section 5 provided that judges and clerks of election "shall, in addition to taking the oath required by existing laws, take the further oath that they will not record, nor permit to be recorded, the name of any voter who has not first taken the oath required to be taken by the first section of this ordinance."

No man in Missouri could therefore either vote, or hold office or discharge any of the duties of the several avocations named, without first taking the prescribed oath.

The fact then is that this system of disfranchisement and test oaths were established and required in this state long before the Republican party as a political organization had more than a mere nominal existence in Missouri, and the record of that convention shows that this ordinance providing such disfranchisement and oaths of loyalty was introduced, supported and voted for by Democrats. By turning to the official printed proceedings of that convention (pages 27 to 171) it will be found that the following well known Democrats, in speeches of great power, ability, patriotism and zeal, urged the adoption of the ordinance, speaking in favor of both disfranchisement and oaths of loyalty. On June 5, 1862, Willard P. Hall, a man of lofty character and powerful intellect, spoke. On June 6, James O. Broadhead, a conspicuous, able and fearless torch bearer of patriotism, made his speech, and on June 9 Judge John F. Philips, whose thrilling words of wisdom, wit, pathos and eloquence are still heard in the land, made one of his most powerful and eloquent appeals for the adoption of the disfranchising ordinance, in which, among other truths, he said: "There was not a man who entered the rebel service who did

not stake all upon the success of that cause, and who did not expect to be dealt with as a traitor in the even he failed." Other distinguished Democrats of the state were quite as emphatic in their support of this ordinance as were the gentlemen just named; while the member perhaps most earnest and zealous in his support of the ordinance was Judge James McFerran, of Gallatin, an earnest man of splendid ability and high standing. Indeed, Judge McFerran drew the report of "the committee on elections and elective franchise," embracing the original ordinance and from the fact that this ordinance, drawn and reported by so distinguished a Democrat, was adopted by that convention, it is safe to assume that upon the questions raised, Judge McFerran not only uttered his own convictions, but voiced those of a majority of that convention when he said (page 163):

"The question now is, whether ministers of the Gospel and school teachers shall take this oath.

"I think if there is any class in the State that ought to be put under the solemnity of an oath, it is the ministers of the Gospel. Of all the men in the State who have contributed to bring about the evils now on us, I think there is no class that is so responsible as ministers of the Gospel. The minister always does his work effectually; and whenever he gets to be a politician and gets among his flock, he instills poison into their minds, and all the arguments of politicians and orators can never remove it. If there is any class of men in this State who should be put under obligations of loyalty, the experiences of the year show it should be the ministers of the Gospel. * * * I do not think disloyal men should be permitted to preach in this State. Not that I have any disrespect for ministers of the Gospel, but because I have a high respect for the public safety and the peace of the State, and because I consider them more important than any considerations appertaining to individuals."

The final vote upon this ordinance stood, ayes 42, nays 27 (Journal 29). That is how, when and by whom the disloyal element was disfranchised and test oaths established by which preachers, teachers, lawyers, jurymen, school directors and officers, and directors of all sorts of corporations, public and private, were deprived of the right to perform the duties of

their respective avocations without first taking the test oath, and oath of loyalty required by this ordinance.

Even prior to the passage of the ordinance in question and on April 24, 1862, Colonel Walter King, a Ray County Democrat, who was as distinguished for his services in the Union army as after the war he was conspicuous in his opposition to the Republican party, suspended the Rev. William M. Rush, of Chillicothe, Mo., from his "duties as a minister or preacher within this military district," and on the appeal of the preacher from this suspension, it was General, afterward Governor, Willard P. Hall, who not only refused to interfere, but confirmed the suspension upon the ground that "a religious congregation that cannot endure prayers for its Government is disloyal; and a minister that encourages such a congregation in its course is also disloyal."

The general elections of 1862 and 1864 were held under this ordinance, while those of 1866, 1868 and 1870 were held under the Constitution of 1865. The State militia and home guards, organized under the authority of the Convention and then subject to the orders of the Provisional Governor as their commander-in-chief, seem to have been quite active in preserving order, as well as in doing other things, at the polls in the elections of '62 and '64; but this was not so as to the elections of '66, '68 and '70 for the reason that before the election of '66 the war was over, the militia had been disbanded, and there was not, nor could there have been anywhere in this State, any military interference at either of the elections last named.

From the official printed proceedings of the last session of the Convention—from June 15 to July 1, 1863—and especially from the memorable speech of Judge Birch (Journal of Proceedings pages 374-380) it is quite certain that numerous and gross outrages were perpetrated upon the rights of many citizens by the militia, as well as by election officers, in the election held in the fall of 1862. Like conditions prevailed and like things were done at the election of 1864, but not thereafter for the reasons given. From the facts disclosed by the debates at that session of the Convention, it is certain that

one class of our people then complained with as much bitterness, as well as with far more reason, of the manner of executing the ordinance of 1862, as afterward they complained of the execution of the Constitution of 1865.

A fact of special interest to those who either charge or credit test oaths and disfranchisement to the account of Charles D. Drake, is that Mr. Drake did not become a member of the Convention first named until June 15, 1863—more than a year after the passage of the ordinance of June 10, 1862.

Another interesting fact, well nigh forgotten now, is that on July 1, 1863, this Convention ordinance provided for the emancipation of the slaves of Missouri on July 4, 1870—"and all slaves within the State at that day are hereby declared to be free."

In this connection, these facts may be recalled with local pride and pleasure: President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued January 1, 1863, declared freedom only to " persons held as slaves" in certain "designated States and parts of States" then " in rebellion against the United States." It did not affect the legal status of any slave in either Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware or Tennessee, nor of slaves in certain designated parts of Louisiana and Virginia, including that part of the latter which is now West Virginia, for the reason that they were not then "in rebellion against the United States." As to all these the President then declared that the institution of slavery was "for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued."

The Convention called to frame the Constitution of 1865, however, without waiting for the Federal Government to act, passed an ordinance on January 11, 1865, abolishing slavery in Missouri on that day—"and all persons held to service or labor, as slaves are hereby declared free." This was reiterated in that Constitution, while the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing slavery, did not become effective until December 18, 1865. Hence, Missouri, had and has the honor of having abolished the curse and crime of human slavery in this State more than eleven months before that result was accomplished

throughout the entire South by the ratification of the thirteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Let us now take a hasty glance through the history of

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MISSOURI.

The Republican party was organized and assumed that name as the name least offensive to Whigs and Democrats, soon after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and first became a national party in 1856, with John C. Fremont as its first candidate for President.

The first movement of the few Missouri Republicans was made in the campaign of 1860. Early in that year a conference of leading Republicans of the State was held at St. Louis, at which delegates to the Republican National Convention at Chicago were named. These delegates at that Convention placed Edward Bates, of St. Louis, in nomination for the Presidency. Lincoln being nominated and elected, he made Bates Attorney General of the United States. Bates served with distinction until 1864, and was Missouri's first cabinet officer. After that Convention adjourned, the Missouri delegates named the Lincoln electors for that campaign and made the gifted James B. Gardenhire, former Democratic Attorney General of the State, the Republican candidate for Governor, against his will. At the election of 1860 the Lincoln electors received about 17,000 votes and Gardenhire about 6,000.

The next movement tending toward the organization of the Republican party in Missouri was the "Emancipation Convention," held at Jefferson City on June 19, 1862, of which Judge Robert W. Wells was the president and Major John L. Bittinger and William Cuddy were secretaries. This convention declared for the gradual emancipation of the slaves, for the earnest support of the Union cause and of Lincoln's administration; but seems to have done little else. In that year a General Assembly was elected, the majority of its members being for the Union and for the gradual emancipation of the slaves.

The first distinctively Republican State Convention ever

held in Missouri met at Jefferson City on May 25, 1864, selected delegates to the Republican National Convention which was held in June and renominated Lincoln; adopted a stalwart Republican platform and nominated a full Republican State ticket, with Thomas C. Fletcher at its head as the candidate for Governor. This ticket was elected, as was also a Republican majority of both House and Senate; that General Assembly convened at Jefferson City on December 26, 1864, and Governor Fletcher was inaugurated January 2, 1865. Then, and not till then, was the Government of Missouri in the full control of the Republican party.

In 1863 the Legislature elected John B. Henderson and B. Gratz Brown as U. S. Senators and they were the first to represent Missouri in that body as Republicans. Charles D. Drake was elected U. S. Senator as a Republican in 1867, and Carl Schurz in 1869. When Senator Drake resigned to accept the office of Chief Justice of the United States Court of Claims in 1870, Daniel T. Jewett was appointed to succeed him until the next session of the Legislature, and since then our representatives in the Senate of the United States have been Democrats; and for the past third of a century every State election has been carried by Democrats, save and except that of 1894, which was an "off year" victory won by Republicans.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS.

Missouri has had but two straight Republican Governors —Thomas C. Fletcher, elected in 1864, served a term of four years under our first Constitution, and Joseph W. McClurg, elected in 1868, and served a term of two years under the Constitution of 1865. In 1870 the Republican State Convention was divided upon the adoption of the pending constitutional amendments; the one wing, called "Straight Republicans," renominated McClurg for Governor, while the other, known as "Liberal Republicans," nominated B. Gratz Brown for Governor. The Democrats made no nomination and by the combined votes of Liberal Republicans and Democrats Brown was elected by a majority of over 41,000.

CONSTITUTION OF 1865—REPUBLICAN CONTINUANCE OF DEMOCRATIC TEST OATHS AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

It has often been charged, and many of the present generation believe, that disfranchisement and test oaths were products of Republican hatred and first became a law in this state in and by the Constitution of 1865, and that this Constitution was formulated and ratified by the Republican party after the war was over. This is not true.

The Constitution of 1865 was provided for by "An Act to provide for a State Convention," approved February 13, 1864, by Willard P. Hall, then Democratic Governor of the State, which Act called that Constitutional Convention into existence. (Laws of Mo., 1864, pages 24-26). The delegates to this convention were elected in November, 1864, assembled at St. Louis on January 6, 1865, and Section 5 of the Act gave to the convention the express power to consider, among other things, "such amendments to the Constitution of the State as may be by them deemed necessary to preserve in purity the elective franchise to loyal citizens." The time, as will be seen by the dates given, was a time of war and not of peace, and the war spirit found expression in the language quoted from section 5.

When the candidates for that constitutional convention were before the people for election, the Democratic national convention of 1864 at Chicago was declaring in its platform that the war had been a failure; battles were being fought throughout the South; and the historic "Price's raid" into and through this state was being made. Sweeping away all opposition, on the conquering Confederate veterans came, with the avowed purpose of capturing Kansas City, marching on and taking the rich spoil of government supplies then at Fort Leavenworth and burning the city of Leavenworth. On their way at various points they met the Union troops in open field; fought the battles of Pilot Knob, of Lexington, of the Little Blue, of Independence and of the Big Blue, in each of which the Confederates were victorious.

Flushed with success, on they came to meet their Waterloo at Westport. There, on October 23, 1864, they fought the splendid and decisive battle of Westport, which turned the tide

and sent the Confederates in full retreat to the land of Dixie.

Among many well known Federal and Confederate soldiers, whose services for their respective causes in one or more of these battles were both gallant and conspicuous, I now recall the names of Colonels R. T. Van Horn, Robert H. Hunt and John F. Philips on the Union side, and Colonel John C. Moore, Richard Gentry and Captain (now Judge) Turner A. Gill on the Confederate side. Young man, go ask any soldier of either army, who in these battles heard the rattle of musketry, the cannon's roar, the shriek and scream of the death-dealing shell, and there looked down into the dying eyes of his comrade, and you will be told that that was a time of war and that there was not then the faintest glimmer of the dawn of peace.

All these battles were fought while the constitutional convention of 1865 was being assembled, and marauding bands of guerillas were then carrying death and destruction to Union men in many parts of the state.

The members of that convention completed and signed the Constitution on April 8, 1865.

On April 10, 1865, after the constitution was completed and signed and sent out to the people, that convention was still in session upon some minor ordinances, when the telegraphic wires announced the surrender of Lee at Appomatox. The members of that convention went wild with joy and before any other business was transacted, a resolution was unanimously adopted in which thanks were returned to Almighty God and President Lincoln for their work in breaking the power of the rebellion "and especially for the noble and humane disposition which has been manifested by our authorities to our conquered enemy."

In this connection it is well to recall the additional historic facts: That the President's peace proclamation was issued on May 9, 1865; that the last reported battle of the war, in which about 120 Union soldiers were killed, was fought at Palmetto Ranche in Texas on May 13th; that the last Confederate force in the field, about 20,000 soldiers under the command of General Kirby Smith, surrendered on May 26th; that

the election at which the constitution was adopted was held on the very day the order was issued by the Government for the release of all Confederate prisoners of war—June 6th, and that the constitution went into effect on July 4, 1865. Under these facts it is clear that this constitution was not only authorized, its framers elected, its provisions formulated and sent to the people for adoption or rejection in times of actual war; but that it was ratified at the polls only eleven days after the surrender of the last Confederate force.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

The close of the Civil War marked the parting of the ways of the men of Missouri who for four long years had done and dared all for the Union. The Union or War Democrats and the newly organized Republicans of the State differed as to the time when the test oath should be abolished and the disfranchised should be enfranchised. The former insisted that the restrictions imposed in 1862 by the convention and continued in the Constitution of 1865 were mere war measures and that peace having been restored such restrictions should be removed at once; while the latter insisted that the time for this was not yet ripe. The issue was squarely presented, sharply drawn, and its discussion provoked almost as much bitterness as had the question of secession. The Union Democrats whom I have named resumed their old places in the Democratic party of the Nation; while the more radical members of the Republican party, flushed with success at arms and with the ballot, and then under the leadership of Charles D. Drake, were at first disposed to hold fast the party advantages given them by the fortunes of war and politics.

But the ever softening and mellowing influences of time, charity and conservatism were at work; the nightmare of war passed, the sweet dream of peace became a glorious reality and partisanship merged into patriotism and fraternity.

REPUBLICAN MAGNANIMITY.

The Constitution of 1865 had been adopted and the general election of 1866 had been held under its provisions. The

Confederate soldiers had returned to their homes; when before the second election had been held in this State under that Constitution, the Republican National Convention met at Chicago in May, 1868. In that Convention, at the unanimous request of the Missouri delegation, General Carl Schurz presented a resolution to be adopted as a plank in the platform of the national Republican party, which, among other things, declared: "And we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out and as may be consistent with the safety and loyalty of the people." This resolution was unanimously adopted at the request of the Missouri delegation and became the thirteenth plank in the national platform of the Republican party in 1868.

Later on and in July, 1868, the Missouri Republican State Convention, in the very first plank of its platform, reaffirmed everything contained in the Chicago platform named, and, among other things, declared that "We cherish no revengeful feeling toward those who fought in fair and open battle, though for an unjust cause, and stand ready to restore every political privilege at the earliest moment consistent with state and national safety."

REPUBLICANS ABOLISH TEST OATH AND RESTORE THE FRANCHISE.

The Republican party elected a Republican Legislature in the fall of 1868, and when that general assembly met, the Republican State Senate brought forward as Republican measures the constitutional amendments which repealed all test oaths, restored the franchise to every Confederate soldier and made him again eligible to every office in the gift of the people.

There were three of these amendments, all of which were prepared by the Republican judiciary committee of the Republican Senate. The first restored to the Confederates the right of suffrage; the second restored to them the right to hold office, and the third abolished the oath of loyalty.

On February 23, 1869, the suffrage amendment was adopted by a vote of 18 Republicans and 7 Democrats.

On February 24 the amendment restoring the right to hold office was adopted by a vote of 20 Republicans and 4 Democrats; 3 Democrats and 1 Republican voting in the negative.

On the same day the amendment repealing the oath of loyalty was adopted by a vote of 21 Republicans and 7 Democrats. Every Republican Senator voting for these constitutional amendments declared that he was in favor of submitting them to the people and that as one of the people he would vote for their adoption. My friend, Col. Wells H. Blodgett, of St. Louis, a member of that Senate, is authority for this statement, and the record fully sustains him.

After these three constitutional amendments had been thus submitted to the people, the Republican State Convention met at Jefferson City, in August, 1870, and commended the course of the Repblican Legislature in submitting them to the people, but could not agree as to when all this should be done, and the Convention divided. The regular wing, which then nominated Governor McClurg for re-election, upon this question declared that "We recognize the right of every member of the party to vote his honest convictions," while the liberal wing, which then nominated B. Gratz Brown for Governor, declared as to these amendments, that "We earnestly recommend them to the people for their approval and adoption."

Upon these two plaforms, the Republicans of Missouri went to the polls in November, 1870, and out of 144,000 votes cast, more than 127,000 were in favor of the re-enfranchisement of those whom a Democratic Convention had first disfranchised. Or to be exact, the vote of the State in favor of that amendment was 127,643, while there were only 16,288 votes against it.

SOME FIGURES AND REFLECTIONS.

The vote of Missouri on the Presidency in 1860 was as follows:

Douglas (Union Democrat)	58,801
Bell (Whig)	58,372
Breckenridge (Disunion Democrat)	31,317
Lincoln (Republican)	17,028
Total	165,518

Although many of them afterwards changed front, yet this vote would indicate that in the fall of 1860, only about nineteen per cent of the men of Missouri then countenanced a dissolution of the Union, and that only about twelve per cent. of them were then Republicans.

Another thing: Missouri sent to the Union Army over 109,000 volunteers and to the Confederate Army more than half that number of volunteers, aggregating the total voting population of the State in 1860. While the draft was enforced in every Northern State, as well as in all the seceding States, and while a draft was at one time ordered and in part enforced in this state, yet to the everlasting honor of the people of the State it should be remembered that to Missouri belongs the unique distinction of having kept its quota full in each of the contending armies, without a single Missourian serving as a drafted man under either the Stars and Stripes or the Stars and Bars. Such is the proud fighting record of Missouri in the Civil War—a record without precedent or parallel in the history of the world.

The total votes for Governor of Missouri, in the four presidential election years which tell the story, were as follows:

In 1860	156,575
In 1864	101,977
In 1868	144,987
In 1872	278,986

The lowest of these was 101,977 in 1864, when the Democratic ordinance of 1862 was in full force and before the Republican pary obtained the control of our State Government.

This total was increased in 1868, during the nearly four years of Republican rule, over 43,000 votes.

Then came Republican enfranchisement in 1870, and at the next election thereafter, held in 1872, this total of 1868 was increased by 133,999 votes.

Years ago, when this was a living issue (it is a dead one now, thank heaven,) Democratic speakers and papers often charged that this increase in the vote of 1872 over that of 1868 was made up of disfranchised Missouri Democrats. Personally, I never believed that charge, yet if true, then the Republicans

who in 1870 enfranchised all of these 133,999 Democrats, conferred a colossal, yet wholly unappreciated favor upon the Democratic party!

The injunction—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days" may have been accepted and relied upon as written to stimulate the political hope of Missouri Republicans who in casting their ballots for enfranchisement also cast their bread upon the waters political; but, if so, the "many days" wherein they were to "find it" have been marvelously lengthened! For in the long generation which has intervened since 1870, the Republicans of Missouri have wandered in the wilderness as did the chosen of the Lord in time of old, subsisting on the manna of defeat, crying out "Who shall give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers and the melons, and the leeks and the onions and the garlic, but now our soul is dried away;" yet we, too, have become "as the stars of heaven for multitude," and are still looking hopefully for a new Moses to lead us out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land of success.

Nearly four decades have elapsed since the curtain was rung down on the wild tragedy of the Civil War, and during all these years Democrats and Republicans, as well as veterans of the Union and Confederate armies, have dwelt together in such peace, unity and good will, that the young man of today can not fully appreciate the acts and doings of the two Conventions in question without a most careful and unprejudiced study of the times and conditions.

CONCLUSIONS.

Any Doubting Thomas, however, may readily verify the controlling facts here stated by an examination of the public records of our State and upon such facts, I submit that the following conclusions, here summed up for convenient reference, are irresistible, viz:

1. That the Democrats of this State and their 17,000 Republican allies saved Missouri to the Union in 1861;

2. That the Democrats of the Convention of 1861-1863, then being in supreme control of all branches of our State government and two years before the Republican party had any State organization in Missouri, not only disfranchised the disloyal and barred them from holding office, but adopted and enforced test oaths and oaths of loyalty for preachers, teachers and others by the authority of the Ordinance of June 10, 1862.;

3. That the Constitution of 1865 was authorized, formulated and sent to the people by the Republican party in times of actual war and was adopted only a few days after the surrender of the last armed Confederate force;

4. That a Republican Legislature drew, adopted and submitted to the people in 1870, the amendments to the Constitution of 1865, whereby the disloyal were re-enfranchised and permitted to hold office, and repealed the Democratic test oaths of 1862; and,

5. That it was the Republicans of the State who by a vote of 9 to 1 restored all these rights to ex-Confederates.

Whether the Democrats in first imposing the restrictive measures now under consideration in 1862 did that which was for the best interests of the people; whether in continuing such restrictions in the Constitution of 1865 the Republicans did right; whether these restrictions should at the close of the great war have at once been removed, present questions upon which the good people of Missouri then honestly differed and still differ.

After a careful study of the official records of the State; of time and environment, my own judgment is—and I believe the impartial historian of the future will concur in this judgment—that the Democrats who adopted and executed the Ordinance of 1862, did so from a high and patriotic sense of public duty. That the Republicans who three years later enlarged and re-enacted such restrictive measures, did so from like motives, no one has the right to deny.

It is as difficult for those who have grown up since the Civil War to understand the motives which then actuated the Union men of Missouri, as it is always difficult, often impossi-

ble, to "put yourself in his place." Hence the youth of to-day can at best only approximately comprehend the situation as those men then saw it.

While the dawn of peace was in fact near at hand on the day the Constitution of 1865 was signed and sent to the people, yet the most prophetic could not then fix the day when the hopes of four years should be realized. Railways and telegraph were then few and far between in Missouri, news traveled but slowly, and it is doubtful if on the day of election half the voters of the State knew that peace had been declared.

In reducing to the last analysis the powers, objects, duties and purposes the Conventions of '61-'63, and of '65, it should be remembered: That the former was charged with the duty of "vindicating the sovereignty of the State and preserving its institutions," while the latter was charged with the duty to "preserve in purity the elective franchise to loyal citizens."

Missouri remained in the Union; the work of each of these Conventions was done in times of actual war; the members of each were in good faith executing their respective trusts; battling to preserve the life of both Nation and State, while Missouri Confederates were in open rebellion against and striving to destroy the governments of both State and Nation.

But aside from all this, there is an additional consideration, which has been recognized and enforced in and by all human governments of earth from "the beginning." In this: That the political party in power in any State or Nation not only has the right to, and is charged with the duty of, but is justified in, adopting and enforcing such measures as in the candid judgement of that party are best calculated to protect, preserve and perpetuate its principles and policies in governmental affairs. Such rights inhere in and such duties devolve upon the party in power in peace and in war. The manner of exercising the right and of performing the duty, may be, and often are, criticised by the opposition; but both remain just the same. And in time of war, when the passions and prejudices of men are at flood tide, more drastic measures are employed than are expected or necessary in times of peace. War legislates.

Again, the axiom that "Self preservation is the first law of nature" applies with equal practical force to political parties and to individuals. Hence, the fact that the Democrats, being in full power and control in Missouri in 1862, and the Republicans, being in power in 1865, alike applied these principles to Missouri politics, is not strange; on the contrary, it would have been strange had either party failed to do so; and in the fading light of these later years who now has the right to say that, the times and circumstances considered, either of those conventions perpetrated a political wrong upon the people?

But conceding for the argument, if you please, that the Democrats in 1862 and that the Republicans in 1865, each in their turn, did in fact inflict a political injury upon certain of our fellow citizens; yet in the darkness of the decade from 1860 to 1870 there still stands out like a glorious beacon light on the hill top of the history of our State, one act of high courage and unselfish patriotism about which there can be no question; and that is that the Republican party of Missouri made no mistake when, in 1870, with a patriotic generosity for which in all history there was no Democratic precedent, it restored to ex-Confederate soldiers and their political allies all the rights of citizenship. Out of political power in Missouri for a third of a century, just as each Republican is casting his ballot then knew his party might be, yet the Republicans of this State have never regretted their wise, just and fair treatment of their political foes.

When to this splendid record of the Republican party in Missouri—now the fifth State in the Union, filled with a prosperous and happy people; with the wealth of the Indias in and beneath her soil; with a future that promises glory, peace and plenty—is added the glorious record of the Republican party in national affairs, to me it seems that a Missouri Republican, whether he voted for Lincoln and fought with Grant, or whether on the eve of casting his first ballot, may well stand up anywhere on God's green earth and with pride proclaim the fact that he is a Missouri Republican.

When the youth of Missouri shall study, know, understand and appreciate the true history of this State and of our common country leading up to and through the Big War; fully comprehend the then existing conditions and the motives and purposes of the men of Missouri in the troublous times from 1860 to 1870, then the wisdom and the patriotism of the men of that day will shine as clearly as the sweet sunlight of heaven at midday; sneers at their acts will give way to cheers, and their memories will be blessed, not cured.

Remember, young man of Missouri, that when the immortal Washington first unfurled the glorious stars and stripes —that banner which exquisite taste and loving patriotism combine to make the most beautiful in all the world—he said it should wave a thousand years; that that flag has now waved for more than a century and everywhere in beauty, strength and triumph; that if you and those who come after you shall be as true and do your duty to your State and country as wisely and as courageously as did the men of Missouri in that decade, 1860-1870, then Missouri will yet rank as the empire state of our Union; that standing shoulder to shoulder with other young men of the Nation in noble, manly effort to perpetuate the liberties which we now enjoy, will ensure to posterity all the blessings of free, enlightened and stable government; and that this done, the name of Missouri and of the government will endure and the flag of Washington will continue to wave as long as rivers flow out to the sea and old ocean lifts her waves to the storm; aye,

"Till the sun grows cold
And the stars are old,
And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold."

H. C. McDOUGAL.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

The State Historical Society of Missouri has in the Sampson Collection a copy of the record of the above society:

ANNALS

of the

MISSOURI
HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL
SOCIETY.

No. 1.

Metropolitan Print, Jefferson City.
1848.

This pamphlet of twenty-nine pages is not common, and was not succeeded by any later number. The act of incorporation was passed by the general assembly and approved by the Governor, February 27, 1845. The trustees named in it were George W. Hough, William Claude Jones, William M. Campbell, James L. Minor, Hiram P. Goodrich, George W. Waters, John I. Campbell, John H. Watson, Adam B. Chambers, John McNeil,, Samuel Treat, Robert I. Boas, Erich Plump, John G. Walker, George W. Huston, Hiram H. Baber, John C. Edwards, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, Bela M. Hughes, Trusten Polk, Robert Wilson, John D. Coalter, William Carson, George A. Carrel, Thomas G. Allen, William E. Elliott, William G. Minor, R. G. Smart, Mann Butler, S. H. Whipple, Robert T. Brown, and Harrison Hough. Two years afterwards the legislature assigned a room in the Capitol for the use of the Society, and appropriated ninety dollars to fit up the room for such use.

The introduction to the pamphlet rehearses the history of the Society. The following quotations are as applicable to

this Society today as they were to the other more than sixty years ago: "All editors and publishers of weekly newspapers and periodicals are solicited to present to the Society regular files thereof;" "the authors of all books, pamphlets and publications of every kind, are requested to donate a copy of the same for the use of the library;" "a copy of every book and pamphlet that was ever published in the State, is desired;—no publication should be considered too unimportant to enter into such a collection." "The Society also desires that the early and local history of the State may be written by persons competent to the task, and furnished for its use. The history of the early French and Spanish settlements at New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, St. Charles, Portage des Sioux, Mine Breton, Cote sans Dessein, and other places would be interesting,—as would also an account of the emigration that came from New Orleans, Canada and elsewhere; and of the location and condition of the various Indian tribes when the first white settlements were made. Accounts of the early voyages, travels, trading expeditions, adventures, exploits and escapes of the early settlers, would be read with pleasure. Accurate details of the Indian wars, conflicts, alarms, and treaties, would form interesting chapters in the history of the state. A description and history of the various posts and forts that existed at early times, is desired. The biography of the pioneers.... would be a valuable addition to our history. The number and extent of the early French and Spanish settlements, and the date of their formation, should be ascertained and perpetuated in an authentic form. The history of the territory immediately before, at and after the treaty of cession, should be carefully written. The provincial form of government, the mode of granting lands, and laying out villages, and the system of government and police before the cession, are worthy of investigation. The biography of the prominent men who came into office when this territory was transferred to the Americans, should be preserved. The conduct, character and history of Stoddard, Clarke, Lucas, Penrose, Bates, McNair, Ashley, Hempstead, Easton, Gray, Callaway, Cooper, Cole and many others, should be written out. The events of the war of 1812

and the accompanying Indian troubles, the adventures of the ranging service, the border conflicts with the savages, such as those that occurred at Loutre, Cote sans Dessein and Chain of Rocks, ought to be minutely given as a part of the history of the country. The territorial history of the country deserves attention—the territorial legislation and executive and judicial action under all the successive forms and grades of government, will be interesting--the gradual progress from the civil to the common law should be traced out, and the men and measures of the territory properly described. Such men as Cousins, the Bartons and Rectors, Strother, Giddings, Emmons, McGirk, Tompkins, Pettibone are entitled to a place in our territorial history. The task of tracing the progress of settlement and improvement in each section of the State will be full of interest; and the early efforts at mining, smelting and manufacturing would not be devoid of interest. The history of the Regulators may receive a passing notice. The transition from the territorial into a State government—the formation and adoption of the State constitution—the conflicts of opinion that existed in the Convention--the anecdotes and incidents of its session and the circumstances that attended the admission of the State into the Union, and the organization of the State government, constitute an important chapter of our history. The early legislation of the State, the choice of officers, the selection of U. S. Senators, the constitutional amendments, the stop laws, and the loan office, are subjects worthy of notice.

The history of the early trade and commerce of the territory—the Indian trade—the navigation by perogues and keel boats—the changes effected by the introduction of steam boats —the system of barter and exchange—the peltry currency—the Bank of St. Louis, and the old Bank of Missouri, are subjects that could be properly woven into the history of the State. The origin, growth and progress of the Rocky Mountain and Santa Fe trade, are fair subjects for historical research. The foundation and progress of the various towns and cities of the State, are parts of our local history. Biographies of all our former Governors, Judges and prominent officials, are desired. All this mass of general and local history can easily be obtained, if

the persons who possess the information will take the trouble to write it down and furnish it to the Society, so that it may be arranged in proper form for publication. A large number of books, pamphlets, letters, manuscripts and files of newspapers are in the possession of individuals and are nearly useless to them, but if contributed to the Society they would form a valuable addition to its collection."

Had the Society survived to the present it might have accomplished many of these objects. How many of them are still neglected and passing into oblivion!.

RECORD OF MEETINGS.

A meeting was held in the Senate chambers, December 18, 1844, for the purpose of forming the Society, George W. Hough being chairman and James L. Minor secretary and the meeting was addressed by the chairman, William M. Campbell, H. P. Goodrich, John I. Campbell and others, and at the same meeting a Constitution was adopted. The objects of the Society were declared to be "to collect, embody and preserve all papers, memorials and documents connected with the early history of Missouri, and all statistics in any way pertaining to the population, mineral, navigable and agricultural resources of the state; and the Society shall, from time to time, make such publication thereof as it may deem useful and interesting." The meetings were to be held in Jefferson City on the third Monday in January in each year. Publishers of books and pamphlets were invited to contribute their publications, and editors of newspapers and periodicals were asked to send their papers to be preserved by the Society. The annual fee of each member was fixed at one dollar.

A committee consisting of W. M. Campbell, Dr. H. P. Goodrich, George W. Waters, W. C. Jones, and A. B. Chambers, was appointed to memorialize the legislature for an act of incorporation.

The first annual meeting was held January 20, 1845, with George W. Hough, as president. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, William G. Minor, Hiram P.

Goodrich, and Robert W. Wells, all of Cole County, John I. Campbell, of Marion County, Bela M. Hughes, of Platte County, Mann Butler, of St. Louis, and Wm. Claude Jones, of Newton County; secretary James L. Minor, of Cole County; and Treasurer, George W. Hough, of Cole County.

The following were elected honorary members: Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts; Albert Gallatin, of New York; Jared Sparks, of Massachusetts; P. A. Brown, of Philadelphia; Judge Hall, of Cincinnati; W. Gilmore Sims, of S. Carolina; Thos. Gilpin, of Phil., and Lewis Cass, of Michigan.

Resolutions were passed asking the members of the legislature to collect books, manuscripts, minerals and fossils from their counties; and the medical profession to prepare and donate skeletons of wild and domestic animals, for a museum of anatomy.

The second annual meeting was held January 10, 1846, and January 22 of the same year. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, Robert W. Wells, James L. Minor and William Z. Angney, of Cole county; James H. Relfe, of Washington county; John I. Campbell, of Marion county; Mann Butler, of St. Louis; and James Young, of Lafayette county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin; treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, Wm. G. Minor, John G. Walker and Enos B. Cordell The executive committee was directed to make an effort with the general assembly to get suitable rooms and cases for the collections, and all editors and publishers were again requested to donate books and papers. Among the donations reported was one which would now be almost priceless—"an unbroken series of the Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives of Missouri, from the first session of the Legislature to the session of 1838-39, bound, presented by W. M. Campbell, of St. Louis." These volumes of the first ten regular general assemblies and of the special assemblies are probably in existence somewhere. Who has them?

A called meeting was held January 11, 1847, at which Mann Butler, of St. Louis, was to have delivered an address, but in

consequence of sickness, and of the difficulty of getting to Jefferson City it was not given.

The third annual meeting was held January 19, 1847. The following officers were elected: President, Wm. M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, R. W. Wells, and J. L. Minor, of Cole county; S. D. Caruthers, of Madison county; J. H. Relfe, of Washington county; Mann Butler, of St. Louis; and James Young, of Lafayette county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin; treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, W. G. Minor, E. B. Cordell and E. L. Edwards. The legislature had given a room for the use of the Society, and the secretary was directed to move the collections of the Society to it. Mann Butler was requested to give the Society the manuscript of his intended address before the Society on the "Life and times of Gen. George Rogers Clark."

February 15, 1847, a meeting was held at which Dr. Mullowny gave an address on the "Destiny of America." Isaac W. Taylor and Willis L. Williams, of St. Louis, made excellent speeches in regard to the objects and purposes of the Society, and a copy of Dr. Mullowny's address was asked for publication.

The fourth annual meeting was held January 17, 1848, Hon. David Todd, of Boone county, acting as president. Two flags which had been carried in the Mexican war were presented to the Society. A committee consisting of F. H. Martin, of Jefferson City, S. T. Glover, of Marion county, Edward Bates, of St. Louis; D. C. Ballow, of Benton county; S. D. Caruthers, of Madison county; John F. Ryland, of Lafayette county; and W. G. Minor, of Jefferson City was appointed to present a petition to the next legislature asking for the State to provide for a geological survey of the State. The secretary made a full report of the year and this is given in full. The following officers were elected: President, William M. Campbell, of St. Louis; vice presidents, John C. Edwards, R. W. Wells, J. L. Minor, S. D. Caruthers, Edward Bates, S. T. Glover, M. M. Maughas, of Callaway county; and P. H. McBride, of Monroe county; secretary, Falkland H. Martin;

treasurer, George W. Hough; executive committee, W. G. Minor, E. B. Cordell, E. L. Edwards, F. A. Kounslar and W. B. Starke.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The following was the list of members:

George W. Hough, James L. Minor, Hiram P. Goodrich, Erich Plump, John G. Walker, Statius Eggers, Enos B. Cordell, W. G. Minor, William Z. Angney, Robert Walker, R. W. Wells, E. L. Edwards, James Luck, Jason Harrison, D. J. Lisle, John C. Burch, F. Hereford, A. Kennedy, James B. McHenry, R. Winter, F. A. Kownslar, Jesse B. Baber, W. B. Starke, John S. McCracken, Ben F. Hickman and H. L. Boon, all of Cole county.

William Massillon Campbell, John H. Watson, A. B. Chambers, Samuel Trent, Willis L. Williams, Edmund Flagg, Uriel Wright, A. W. Scharit, Isaac W. Taylor, Samuel Conway, J. B. Colt, G. H. C. Melody, Samuel H. Lowry, Bates and Robert Campbell, of the city of St. Louis.

George E. Pratt, John F. Stone, David M. Hickman, David Todd, James S. Rollins, and Wm. F. Switzler, of Boone county.

John I. Campbell, William Carson, Samuel T. Glover, and Carty Wells, of Marion county.

George W. Waters, Falkland H. Martin, and James L. Dunklin, of Jefferson county.

William B. Baskett, M. M. Maughas and Wm. H. Dyer, of Callaway coutny.

John Orrick and Andrew King, of St. Charles county.

Robert I. Boas and Thomas M. Horine, of Ste. Genevieve.

John A. Powell and Abiel Leonard of Howard county.

James Young and T. M. Ewing, of Lafayette county.

A. W. Reid and Priestly H. McBride, of Monroe county.

Harvey Wellman and William Priest, of Ralls county.

Thomas P. Rubey and Robert Wilson, of Randolph county.

James H. Relfe, Wm. A. Jones and G. Mullowny, of Washington county.

Dewitt C. Ballou, Benton county.

T. P. Bell, Cooper county.
A. W. Daggett, Clark county.
Kindred G. Pearson, Cedar county.
Lisbon Applegate, Chariton county.
Aaron Finch, Dade county.
R. B. Ellis, Daviess county.
Gideon P. Wyatt, Gasconade county.
James Livingston, Grundy county.
Stephen Cooper, Holt county.
William Calhoun, Johnson county.
M. L. Thomas, Lincoln county.
E. M. C. Morelock, Linn county.
W. Y. Slack, Livingston county.
A. O. Forshey, Montgomery county.
John H. Bean, Macon county.
Sol. D. Caruthers, Madison county.
John C. McCoy, Morgan county.
Wm. Claude Jones, Newton county.
John H. Walker, New Madrid county.
James O. Broadhead, Pike county.
Thomson Ward, Platte county.
E. B. Ewing, Ray county.
Wm. O. Applebee, Warren county.

MUSTER ROLL OF COMPANY B, FIRST MISSOURI CAVALRY, TRANS-MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT, C. S. A.*

J. A. Boarman, Captain, wounded at Newtonia, Mo., 1862. Discharged. Dead.
B. M. Neale, Captain, Greenfield, Mo.
1st Lt. J. B. Dysart, discharged; dead.
1st Lt. J. E. McDougal, dead.
2d Lt. Wyatt Webb, Nevada, Mo.
3d Lt. Chas. O'Hara, killed 1863, Lafayette county, Mo.
3d Lt. C. W. Neale, killed 1864, Union county, Arkansas.
3d Lt. C. J. Lewis, Corder, Mo.
Alstadt, Chas., dead.
Agnew, A. W., Texas.
Anderson, J. R., dead,
Allison, Robert, dead.
Beck, W. S., Dover, Mo.
Banks, John, dead.
Banks, Sam, died in army, 1863.
Burnham, A. C., dead.
Bell, Rem., dead.
Betts, unknown.
Belt, John, dead.
Belt, Thomas, dead.

*List furnished by John T. Warth, Nevada, Mo.

Bickerstaff, Sam, dead.
Buford, J. A., dead.
Buford, William, dead.
Burton, P. G., missing at Helena, Arkansas.
Bonds, William, killed in 1863.
Barnett, Robinson, dead.
Barnett, Boyd, died in army, 1863.
Barnett, John, dead.
Barnett, James, dead.
Caldwell, James, Odessa, Mo.
Carney, William, unknown.
Cross, William, unknown.
Crow, James, unknown.
Chinn, Joe, Lexington, Mo.
Cochran, Lilburn, dead.
Carter, Dr. R. C., Higginsville, Mo.
Carter, William, Shelby county, Mo.
Carter, Ed, Independence, Mo.
Craig, William, unknown.
Cooper, William, dead.
Cather, James, dead.
Duncan, Albert, Nevada, Mo.
Dolan, Martin, unknown.
Davis, N. S., dead.
Darnall, James, killed at Newtonia, Mo.
Dysart, William, Dover, Mo.
Elliott, Columbus, killed at Cape Girardeau Mo.
Edwards, Thomas, Oklahoma.
Fox, Nelson, dead.
Fox, Elias, dead.
Fox, C. R., dead.
Fox, John, Texas.
Grindstaff, Julius, dead.
Gaston, Isaac, unknown.
Grigsby, Richard, dead.
Grigsby, Wirten, Texas.
Groves, L. W., dead.
Groves, Thomas, Waverly, Mo.
Groves, J. F., Corder, Mo.
Garr, G. W., Lexington, Mo.
Greene, George, Mayview, Mo.
Greene, Russell, Higginsville, Mo.
Gilliam, William, unknown.
Howard, James, dead.
Hill, Green, dead.
Hinsen, Bush, dead.
Keithley, G. A., unknown.
Lay, Marion, dead.
Love, Joe, dead.
Lewis, B. M., Corder, Mo.
Lewis, Jonas, Corder, Mo.
Lewis, W. D., Kansas City, Mo.
Long, Frank, dead.
Mitchell, Charles, dead.
Myers, Elias, dead.
Meng, John, Lexington, Mo.
McGentry, Pat, killed at Newtonia, Mo., 1862.
McCausland, Ed, dead.
McReynolds, Joe, Grand Pass, Mo.
Murphy, Tim, dead.
McFadden, Forch, Lexington, Mo.
McQueen, Pen, Hardin ,Mo.
McQueen, George, dead.
McDavitt, James, unknown.
Ninemire, J. T., dead.
Neale, Isaac, dead.
Neale, David, dead.
Neale, Lewis, dead.
Neale, Samp, died in army in 1863.
Neale, Joe, Higginsville, Mo.
New, Lewis, dead.
Oliver, John, dead.
Oliver, W. G.
Oliver, M. V. B., Dover, Mo.
Persinger, At, Texas.
Page, H. C., unknown.
Page, John, dead.
Page, A. J., Denver, Colo.
Preston, William, dead.
Plattenburg, J. Q., Lexington, Mo.
Plattenburg, H. W., Dover, Mo.
Rutledge, David, dead.
Shaul, J. V., Bronaugh, Mo.
Shaul, G. A., Bronaugh, Mo.
Slusher, D. A., Lexington, Mo.
Slusher, J. A., dead.
Stark, Thomas, dead.
Stark, Ed., Dover, Mo.
Schooler, Cole, dead.
Staley, Marion, unknown.
Stelle, Charles, killed 1864, Union county, Arkansas.
Thompson, John, Boonville, Mo.
Thompson, Joe, Boonville, Mo.
Ustick, Thomas, dead.
Warren, J. B., dead.
Winn, James, Dover, Mo.
White, L. E., dead.
White, Herbert, died in army in 1863.

White, Everett, Kansas.
Warth, S. V., Nevada, Mo.
Webb, T. V., Dover, Mo.
Webb, John G., dead.
Webb, James G., died in prison 1865.
Young, Evan, dead.
Young, T. C., dead.

NOTES.

Autograph Letters.

Prof. G. C. Broadhead has presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri a valuable collection of 139 autograph letters. It includes many of the prominent State Geologists of the different states and of foreign countries, and many well known scientists. There is also a large number of officials of Missouri and others, among the latter being letters from Presidents Grant and Roosevelt.

Grand Orator.

J. West Goodwin, the veteran editor, of Sedalia, one of the trustees of the State Historical Society of Missouri, was appointed Grand Orator of the Masonic Grand Lodge of the state of Missouri at the Grand Lodge annual meeting in October, 1908. The State Historical Society elected him an honorary member, December 14, 1908.

Cedar Rapids Libraries.

The "Occasional Bulletin" of the Iowa Masonic Library for October, 1908, issued by the most complete library of Masonic and kindred works, and books relative to secret societies has interesting accounts of that library and of other libraries of Cedar Rapids. There is perhaps not another city of its size that equals it in the number and character of the private libraries containing rare and interesting works.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Story of a Border City during the Civil War, by Galusha Anderson, LL. D., (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1908. 14 portraits and views, 12 mo. cl. $1.50 net.)

The author of this work, former President of the University of Chicago, was the pastor of a prominent church in the city of Saint Louis from 1858 to 1866, and his personal observations made at that time throw a new light on one phase of the Civil War. During this period, the State of Missouri was disputed ground. Its citizens were divided between secession and the Union, between slavery and emancipation, and the battles fought within its limits were no less bitter, in that they were comparatively bloodless.

Saint Louis naturally bore the brunt of the struggle, and Dr. Anderson's account of the strenuous life there during the Rebellion opens up a comparatively unworked field. The work is colored by the introduction of many interesting personal experiences which befell Dr. Anderson as a staunch supporter of emancipation and an active worker against secession.

The Leader, by Mary Dillon, author of "The Rose of Old St. Louis" and "In Old Bellaire." Illustrated by Ruth M. Hallock. New York, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907. (c. 1906.) 8 vo. 362 pp.

While the authoress is a native of Pennsylvania, she is a resident of St. Louis and is consequently in the list of Missouri authors. In an earlier work by her she made a claim for historical accuracy, but in this, while some of the story will remind the reader of actual events, the authoress disclaims any intention of recording any historical or biograpical occurrences. She also disclaims having produced a "novel with a purpose," but simply tells the story of two lives very pleasantly, and to the edification of the reader.

NECROLOGY.

Gen. John Acoming Halderman died at Atlantic City September 21, 1908, seventy-two years of age, and was buried at Arlington cemetery, near Washington. He was born in Missouri but when young the family moved to Kansas, where he embraced the legal profession. He was mayor of Leavenworth, regent of the Kansas State University and served in both houses of the legislature. During the Civil War he was a member of the First Kansas infantry, holding positions from major to major-general. He was minister to Siam in 1880, and did effective and valuable service in that country.

William Maynard was born in London, England, March 9, 1830, and came to American when a boy. During the Civil War he served in a New York regiment. Afterwards he was editor of the Chariton County Union, the Warrenton Banner, and for thirty years editor and proprietor of the Moberly daily and weekly Headlight. He died at Moberly November 12, 1908.

Hon. J. O. Morrison was a member of Thirty-fifth General Assembly, 1889, from Pulaski county. During 1890, he moved to Vernon county to a farm near Walker, and eight years ago moved to Nevada. At the last election he was elected a member of the legislature from Vernon county, but on November 16, he died after an illness of eighteen months. He was born at Fountain Run, Kentucky, May 26, 1836, and came to Missouri in 1867.

Judge Jackson L. Smith was born in Callaway county, Missouri, January 31, 1837, attended the State University, and was admitted to the bar in 1860. In 1877 he was elected attorney general of the state, and served four years. In 1888 he was elected to the Kansas City Court of Appeals, and served sixteen years, the later years as presiding judge. He died at Kansas City November 13, 1908.

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MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL 3 APRIL, 1909. NO. 3

THE SETTLEMENT OF COLUMBIA, MO.—A TYPE STUDY

To ascertain the relative part taken by the North and the South respectively in the early settlement and development of Missouri; to determine the center, or centers, from which the immigrants came; to place on record a roster of these early settlers while the sources are yet available; to discover and indicate the nature of such source material was the purpose of this investigation.

Until many, and often the most vital, sources of history have been lost through the destructive elements of time, the research worker is seriously hampered by its apparent complexity. Yet these apparently chaotic masses group themselves about certain simple and direct lines of development. Instead of being due to sporadic efforts, the early settlers of Missouri followed lines clearly and distinctly pointed out to them by the Marquettes and the La Salles, or by the Boones and the Clarks, their worthy successors in blazing the paths of civilization.

The broad highway of these early pioneers was the Ohio-Mississippi-Missouri waterway. There were, however, many by-ways. The Cumberland road was early extended to Vincennes, and to the French posts on the Mississippi. By this

route came many settlers to Central Missouri. St. Genevieve, St. Louis, and St. Charles became, as it were, distributing points for immigrants. From these towns some took their way either up the Missouri River, or by an overland trail along its northern border to Old Franklin, Fayette, Rocheport, Columbia, or some other settlement in the "Boone's Lick District." Others ascended the river to follow the course of the Gasconade and of the Osage. Still others, from the headwaters of the Meramec, went to the Southwest over the old "Kickapoo Indian Trail." Many settlers also reached the latter territory via the Ohio-Mississippi-Arkansas system, ascending the northern tributaries of the latter stream.

To determine the native heath of the "primitive" Missourian it is necessary to follow each of these streams of immigrants to its source. As a rule the emigrants from a given district clustered about certain well-defined points in comparatively contiguous territory in Missouri. The settlement of either Old Franklin, Fayette, Rocheport, Columbia or Boonville typifies that of the entire "Boone's Lick District." The same is true in other sections. A study of any one of the various settlements suffices for the whole. It is this reason, furthered by the hope that a friend in another section of the state may be induced thereby to work along similar lines, that has moved me to devote quite as much of this paper to pointing out the sources from which information has been drawn as to recording data resulting therefrom.

The first, and what proved to be the most valuable single source for our purpose, was a file of "The Missouri Intelligencer," found on the shelves of the State Historical Society of Missouri Library. This paper was established at Old Franklin in 1819 and covered practically the entire period under consideration. In 1826 it was removed to Fayette and from there, in 1830, to Columbia, where it has since had a continuous publication, being known from 1835 to 1842 as "The Patriot" and from that date as "The Statesman."

(There are only a year and nine months' issues of the former Columbia publication in this file.) Even before its removal to Columbia the paper contained many interesting items about the town and community. To the student of local history its value after 1830 is incalculable. Its pages furnish not only the names but also, in many instances, the nativity of the more prominent early settlers. Later issues are rich in the information sought.

"The Stevens Articles" that appeared during 1869 and 1870 deserve special mention. Mr. E. W. Stevens, then on the editorial staff of "The Statesman," spent more than a year among the sources of Boone County's history, and the results that he obtained are worthy of careful consideration. His statements are conservative, and accurate to a degree seldom met with in county histories.

Other papers examined were "The Daily Statesman," from August 6th to December 13, 1879; "The Columbia Daily Tribune," from 1901 to 1906, and "The Columbia Herald," from 1878 to 1906. A valuable feature of the latter is the "Official Register of Old Settlers," published August 13, 1897, and each succeeding year at the time of the Old Settlers' Reunion.

On the Shelves of the Historical Society are to be found also a number of books valuable in research work of this nature. Among these are "The History of Boone County," compiled largely from the Stephens' articles mentioned above; "The Encyclopedic History of Missouri," a work of six volumes, containing biographies of a few men identified with the early history of Columbia; "The Encyclopedic History of St. Louis," in four volumes, and "The Rollins' Memorial Volume."

While everything found in our society rooms is worth its weight in gold to the Missouri antiquarian, its value to the student of Boone County's history is but as chaff when compared to the contents of that historic structure the Boone County court house, now guarding the north entrance to the "Street of Columns." Every stone in its walls is satu-

rated with information relative to an important event connected with the development of the Boone's Lick District.

Space permits no more than a mention, incidentally, of the deed, mortgage, marriage and commission records, and the circuit, county, and probate files and records to be found there—all of which date back to 1821, and furnish valuable data. The most complete files of the County Clerk's office where one finds a number of petitions to the County Court asking for the appointment of additional justices of the peace in Columbia township. One set of these petitions contains the names of more than three hundred persons. A reference to the statute laws at that time governing these petitions discloses the fact that only adult male residents of the township could sign them. The Journal of the House of Representatives for the Eleventh General Assembly gives the population of Columbia, in 1840, six years after these petitions were filed, as males 291; females 231; total 522; white males over twenty-one, 150. A note book found among the effects of J. Kirkbride and bearing the date, 1828, says the population of Boone County, at that time, was 4,268 white and 888 black. These sources would indicate that a very large per cent of the adult male residents of Columbia township must have petitioned the County Court in 1834.

There is also on file in the County Clerk's office (December, 1835) the poll-book of a special election for a justice of the peace, held in Columbia on December 26th, of that year. It contains the names of 147 voters. The petition for the incorporation of Columbia, 1826, bears the signatures of 46 residents. In various out of the way places in its vaults one finds records of proceedings in justice courts, including judgment and execution books.

While hardly so rich as this office, every nook and corner of the entire building contains something of interest and value to the research worker. Even the attic, from its three large chests of miscellaneous papers, and the grand jury room from its hundred, or more, odd volumes contribute their quota.

There were three church organizations in Columbia prior to 1836: Christian, Presbyterian and Baptist. Only the records of the latter, kept in the vaults of the Boone County Trust Company, could be reached. They date from 1823, and the fact that they were kept by William Jewell is guarantee of their accuracy. The records of the Christian Church have been destroyed. Those of the Presbyterian Church are in the vaults of the Exchange Bank, but just where could not be determined.

While the Masonic Lodge was organized about 1830, its charter was surrendered and, apparently, all records were destroyed at the outbreak of the Civil War, the lodge being reorganized in 1866. The city records date back to 1850. No inconsiderable amount of information was gleaned from the tombstones in the cemetery. Other valuable sources were the late Col. Switzler's "Manuscript History of the University of Missouri," now in the vaults of the University, and two large scrap-books, examined through the courtesy of his son, Irvin Switzler.

Such in general has been the scope of this research and such are the sources from which the following conclusions have been drawn. In presenting them it would be the height of folly to relate the story of the founding of Columbia and the growth and development of the surrounding districts. To attempt it would be only to paraphrase what has already come from the more fruitful pens of the late Col. Switzler and his able co-worker, Mr. Stephens.

According to the Statesman of September 30, 1870, John Lampton was the pioneer settler of Columbia township, coming here in 1813. Whether it was he, Moses U. Payne, the following year, or the Caves and their friends in 1815, matters little. Suffice it to say that between the former date and 1836, it has been possible to identify 660 of the male residents of Columbia township. An additional 107 were intimately connected with its history and were probably residents, the identification not being positive, they have not been included in this summary.

The place from whence 240 of the 660 residents came could be definitely located. Of these 237, or 98¾% were from south of the Mason and Dixon Line, the exceptions being Oliver Parker, of New Hampshire, who was here in 1821; J. Kirkbride, of Pennsylvania, 1828; and Thomas Miller, of Indiana, 1834. The latter was a native of Washington County, Pa.

The quotas from the Southern States were:

Kentucky	209, or 87	per cent
Virginia	18, or 7½	per cent
Tennessee	6, or 2½	per cent
North Carolina	3, or 1¼	per cent
Maryland	1, or 1	per cent

The popular notion that a very large majority of the early settlers of Missouri were from Kentucky is evidently well-founded, so far, at least, as the "Boone's Lick" settlements are concerned. But the belief that most of these emigrated from Madison County is not so well established, as the following table indicates:

Madison sent	36, or 31	per cent
Scott	25, or 21	per cent
Bourbon	14, or 12	per cent
Fayette	8, or 7	per cent
Woodford	8, or 7	per cent
Clark	6, or 5	per cent
Fleming	4, or 3	per cent
Lincoln	3, or 2	per cent
Mason	3, or 2	per cent
Franklin	3, or 2	per cent
Owen	2, or 1	per cent
Montgomery	2, or 1	per cent
Trimble	2, or 1	per cent
Bath	1, or 1	per cent
Christian	1, or 1	per cent
Warren	3, or 2	per cent
Casey	1, or 1	per cent
Henry	1, or 1	per cent
Harrison	1, or 1	per cent
Barren	1, or 1	per cent

With three exceptions, Christian, Warren, and Barren, these counties are in the valleys of the Kentucky and Licking

Rivers, or contiguous thereto. This means that while Madison County can claim but 31 per cent of the emigrants to the Boone's Lick country, the district of which she formed no inconsiderable part furnished 96 per cent of them.

Those directly from Madison County were Henry Cave, Richard Cave, Reuben Cave, Richard Gentry, David Gordon, J. M. Gordon, John B. Gordon, Boyle Gordon, John Guitar, a native of France; Odon Guitar, Overton Harris, John W. Harris, Joel Hume, Thomas C. Maupin, John Maupin, Garland D. Maupin, Dr. A. W. Rollins, James S. Rollins, James Smith, Caleb S. Stone, Robert H. Stone, Madison D. Stone, Thomas Turner, A. N. Turner, William Turner, J. H. Woods, Anderson Woods, Audley Campbell, Thomas Campbell, William Grayham, John Grayham, William Read, Joshua Lampton, William Roberts, Elliot Roberts, Hezekiah Speaks.

Scott County sent Stephen R. Bedford, Reuben D. Black, Robert F. Gibbs, Joel H. Haden, Turner R. Haden, William Johnston, James Johnston, Thomas Johnston, Samuel Johnston, Robert Lemon, Warren Phillips, J. B. Phillips, Levi T. Smith, Loudon Snell, John Snell, John Spence, S. B. Spence, Samuel L. Henry, John Todd Henry, Matthew O. Keene, Mason Mars, John Mars, James Mars, Gilpin Tuttle, Jefferson Garth.

Bourbon County furnished David M. Hickman, W. T. Hickman, David M. Hickman, Jr.; Capt. William Johnston, David Robnett, John Robnett, Sr.; John Robnett, Jr.; Pleasant Robnett, Joseph Robnett, Moses Robnett, Wm. C. Robnett, Richard H. Robinson, J. Kelley Wright, William Pearson.

From Fayette County came Rev. T. M. Allen, Dr. Matthew Arnold, Robert Greening, Thomas E. Powers, James Rogers, Kirtley Rogers, David Todd, R. N. Todd.

Woodford was represented by John Hughes, Willis Hughes, James Hughes, John N. Hughes, Joseph Hughes, Dr. William McClure, Moses U. Payne, Adam C. Reyburn.

Clark by Moses Batterton, William Berry, Lewis G. Berry, James Palmer, Sr.; H. W. Pemberton, Zechariah Ridgeway;—

Fleming by James J. Boyce, Samuel Kennan, John Kennan, Thomas Kennan:—

Lincoln by William Cornelius, Milton Cornelius, James Riggs;—

Mason by James W. Moss, John Thornton, James H. Thornton;—

Franklin by Samuel Mars, Eli Mars, Cumberland Snell;—

Warren by Willis Boyce, William Boyce, Jesse Boyce;—

Owen by Benjamin Stephens, Washington Stephens:—

Montgomery by Major James B. Nichols, Jeremiah O'Rear;—

Trimble by Charles Hardin and Charles H. Hardin—late Governor of Missouri;—

Bath by Samuel Wheeler;—

Christian by Philander Finley;—

Casey by Nathan McBride;—

Henry by Rev. Allen McGuire;—

Harrison by D. S. Lamme;—

Barren by John Garnett.

The county from which many of the emigrants from Kentucky hailed could not be positively determined. These were James Arnold, Samuel L. Ashlock, Samuel Beatie, James H. Bennett, James H. Benson, Rolly Asbury, Robert S. Barr, Samuel Batterton, Capt. Samuel Berry, Christopher C. Branham, R. C. Branham, Jacob Bruner, William Callaway, William Cave, Thomas Collins, Bartlett Collins, Benjamin Connelly, John J. Cotton, Samuel Crockett, Dr. Wm. H. Duncan, James Duncan, Rev. J. Greenalgh, born in Lancashire, England; Franklin Hart, John B. Hill, Washington Jenkins, George Jewell, William Jewell, Henry Keene, John G. Keene, John W. Keiser, James King, William Lamme, John Lampton, James Lampton, John H. Lynch, Jacob March, John March, Absolom March, Clifton Maupin, William Maupin, P. H. McBride, Levi McGuire, Allen McGuire, Jr.; Charles McLain, Mason Moss, James T. Moss, Robert Nelson, George Northcut, William Northcut, Wm. B. Oldham, Martin E. Oldham, Daniel O'Rear, John O'Rear, John Parker, William Parks, Willis

Parks, Price E. Parks, Hiram Phillips, Louis Pemberton, Alex Persinger, Moss Prewitt, William Provines, Frederick Read, Major Henry Ready, John N. Ridgeway, Benjamin F. Robinson, Gerard Robinson, William M. Robinson, Richard Samuel, David Shock, Robert Snell, Andrew Spence, Wilford Stephens, Robert Thomas, Thomas Thompson, John G. Vivion, Benjamin F. White, Dr. J. W. Wilson, N. W. Wilson, Josiah Wilson, Warren Woodson, W. E. Wright.

In such men as these Kentucky did not send us the dregs of her population. Rather she shared with us her richest blood. This section of our state, at least, was settled as the result of a well-defined movement centering about the famed bluegrass regions of Kentucky. Men who were accustomed to the best that Kentucky afforded preferred a wilderness of equal fertility to the inferior lands nearer home. Sturdy, sober-minded in all their dealings, men whose word was as good as their bond, they have left a mark upon their posterity that can be detected in even the cosmopolitan Columbia of today.

No less can be said of those coming in smaller numbers from other states. Virginia sent Benjamin Anderson, James Bowling, Joseph Burch, Edward Camplin, Thomas W. Conyers, John S. Conyers, William Donaho, Jesse Donaho, R. M. Grayham, Ezekiel C. Hickman, John Hickman, Joseph Hickman, John M. Kelley, J. L. Matthews, Milton S. Matthews, A. G. Newman, James Gordon Turner, John Vanhorn.

Those from Tennessee were James Crockett, Austin A. King, later Governor of the State; Wm. Shields, Peter Wright, Riley Slocumb, Meshach Smith.

From North Carolina were David Doyle, Walter L. Lenoir, James Payne.

Maryland sent Wm. S. Truitt.

Barring the names of more than 400 persons, who were residents of Columbia township but whose native heath could not be accurately determined, and an additional 100 probable residents, the foregoing is a summary of the facts developed by this investigation. In its earlier stages the North was

little concerned in the development of Central Missouri. A vast majority of the southern emigrants were from Kentucky, a plurality of these being from Madison County.

While it can not be the province of this paper to determine why this early emigration took place, nor why these particular emigrants should have come to Boone and surrounding counties, it cannot be amis to say that some ascribe it to the similarity of soil formation. One old gentleman called my attention to the "fact that the Boone's Lick counties produce more and better bluegrass than do the richest soils of Kentucky." Another in explaining the exodus from Kentucky said, "The better lands had all been entered. It was therefore impossible for us to secure new tracts for our large families of children and we had to look elsewhere. At one time this movement became so general that some communities in Kentucky were almost deserted." However this may have been an overwhelming majority of Kentucky emigrants, as we have seen, were from a district of practically contiguous counties in the bluegrass region.

JAMES M. WOOD.

SLAVERY IN MISSOURI TERRITORY.

It is my intention in this paper to give a sketch of slavery conditions in Missouri in its territorial days, attempting to give a background for the Missouri Compromise rather than a discussion of the national and constitutional questions involved in Missouri's struggle for statehood.

I. Numbers and Value.

Most of the data on the population of Louisiana apply to the entire province or to the New Orleans country, the statistics referring to the district about St. Louis being quite limited. We have this indefinite statement of Jefferson, "..... it may be taken for a general rule, that in proportion to the distance from the capital (New Orleans) the number of blacks diminishes below that of the whites...." (1) According to Gayarre in 1745 there were 10 slaves in each Missouri and Arkansas and 600 in Illinois. (2) The same authority claims there were 31,433 slaves in all Louisiana in 1785 and 42,346 three years later. (3) It seems somewhat doubtful that the Louisiana of that day could increase its slave population by eleven thousand in three years, and hence we should perhaps be somewhat skeptical as to the veracity of the census statistics of the Mississippi valley. Delassus in his census of 1799 vouched that there were 883 negro slaves

1. American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. 1, 346. Jefferson in his report on Louisiana to Congress at the time of the Cession claimed there were in 1785 16,544 slaves and 1,303 "free people of color" in Louisiana including Pensacola and Natchez. He mentioned that "the latest documents" gave 12,820 slaves and 1,768 free blacks. He also quotes an estimate of slaves on the isle of New Orleans "on the west side of the river and some settlements on the east side" to be 51,250. Ibid. p. 348.

2. Gayarre, Charles, "Lectures on the Hist. of La." (N. Y., 1852) Vol. II, 28.

3. Do, Vol. III, 215.

in the twelve districts which now practically comprise eastern Missouri. (4)

In 1712 twenty black slaves were introduced into Louisiana. In June 1719 the "Western Company" began to make importations. From 300 to 500 are said to have been supplied to the settlers annually, the men bringing about $150 and the women $120 each, (5) being often paid for within three years with colonial produce. (6)

At the time of the Cession, according to one authority, there were 10,340 souls in Missouri, of whom 1,320 were blacks. (7) A traveler who visited St. Louis in 1806 states that there were then 200 black slaves in the town (8) Breckenridge gives the population of Missouri for about the year 1810 as 21,840, of which 8,011 were blacks, (9) while the United States Census for that year was 20,845, the number of these who were negroes not being specified. (10) From that date the territory developed rapidly and, with perhaps the exception of the years 1811-15, when British and Indian ravages were feared, the stream of settlers crossing the Mississippi increased till about 1818, when the constitutional questions which arose over the agitation for statehood caused a veritable tidal wave of slave state settlers to enter the Territory.

4. Am. State Papers, Misc., Vol. I, 383. Quoted also in Scharf, I, 309.

5. French, B. F., Historical Collections of Louisiana. (N. Y. 1815) Vol. III, 64.

6. French, Vol. V, 119. In the memoirs of M. Dumont we also read, "When a slave vessel arrived it was visited by the surgeons who separated the healthy from the sick, and put the latter under treatment. The former were divided in this way: such settlers as were named to have negroes went to the commissary-ordinator, and drew from a bag a ticket whose number denoted the negro or negroes that fell to them, each negro having a number around his neck. As for the sick, they were sold at auction as there were always settlers who could not get healthy ones, the bidding ran so high that the sick brought as much as the others."

7. Rev. T. Hill in "American Presbyterian Rev." X, 94.

8. Ashe Thomas, "Travels in America Performed in 1806." (Newberryport, 1808), p. 290.

9. Brackenridge, H. M., "Views of Louisiana." (Baltimore, 1817) p. 215.

10. U. S. Census Reports, 1900, Population I, p. 3.

The Missouri Gazette of June 9, 1819, states that 107,000 acres of public lands were disposed of in March of that year at $2.91 per acre. In the same issue a report from St. Charles declares, "....never has such an influx of people.... been so considerable, ... flowing through our town with their maid servants and men servants....the throng of hogs and cattle, the white-headed children, and curly-headed Africans...." Another item in the same issue states: "....170 emigrants were at the Portage des Sioux at one time last week." The papers for nearly every week from the above date are filled with similar statements. That the newcomers were of the kind to make Missouri a slave State we have no trouble in discovering. The St. Louis Inquirer of November 10, 1819, informs us that a citizen of St. Charles counted for nine or ten weeks an average of one hudred and twenty settlers' vehicles per week with an average of eighteen persons per vehicle. "They came almost exclusively from the States south of the Potomac and the Ohio bringing slaves and large herds of cattle...." The Gazette of January 26, 1820, states that "Our population is daily more heterogenious (sic)....scarcely a Yankee has moved into the country this year. At the same time Virginians, Carolinians, Tennesseeans, and Kentuckians are moving in great force...." The St. Louis Inquirer of November 10, 1819, informs us that in October of that year 271 four-wheeled and 55 two-wheeled vehicles passed "Mrs. Griffith's in the point of the Missouri," bound for Boone's Lick, and speculates that from ten to fifteen thousand people would settle in Missouri during the autumn. Timothy Flint, a New England clergyman, counted a hundred persons passing through St. Charles in one day. "I have seen....nine wagons," he said, "harnessed with from four to six horses. We may allow one hundred cattle ....and from three or four to twenty slaves" to each wagon.(11)

The St. Louis Inquirer of October 20, 1819, actually puts the population of Boone's Lick at 10,000. The same paper

11. Goodspeed, W. A., "The Province and the States." (Madison, 1904) Vol. on Missouri, p. 23.

on December 25 of that year states that from four to five hundred souls were crossing the Mississippi daily.(12) In the State election of 1820 Niles claims 9,232 votes were cast.(13) The census of 1820 authorized by the Legislature was 52,000,(14) while the Federal census of that year fixed the total population at 66,586.(15) The population of the State in 1824, when the General Assembly authorized a census to be taken, was 80,677, of whom 13,725 were slaves and 382 free colored.(16)

There can be no doubt that there was a considerable slave population in the Territory in the days when the question of Missouri's statehood was before the country. Perhaps Taylor of New York was inclined to exaggerate when he said: "....a negro man is bought in Africa for a few rew-gaws or a bottle of whisky, and sold in New Orleans for twelve to fifteen hundred dollars,"(17) but nevertheless the slaveholders of Missouri who contended for statehood in 1820 were fighting not for a mere political principle, but actually for property and a considerable amount of it. If Missouri in 1820 was simply a battle ground for selfish southern purposes, there would be some evidence of loose economic conditions or at least stray hints that the system was ill-adapted to so northern a country. But business seems to have been sound and the tone of all papers gives the impression that these were "booming" times for Missouri.

12. In Niles' Register of Jan. 2, 1819, we read—"The emigration to Missouri is so great as to furnish a home market at very high prices for all provisions raised in the territory....." In the issue of Sept. 11 we read: "Chariton, a new town somewhere in Missouri, contains about eighty houses, and several brick buildings are now being erected. A year ago the town only had five or six unchinked cabins on the town plot."

13. Vol. 19, p. 112. The population of St. Louis was reported to be 4,598 in that year. Ibid. 312.

14. Annals of Congress, Sixteenth Congress, First Session, p. 375.

15. U. S. Census Reports, 1900. Pop. I, 3.

16. Journal of Senate, Third General Assembly, p. 42.

17. Annals of Congress, Vol. 33, p. 1175.

The Slave Codes.

In this paper I shall refer more or less frequently to the slave codes. For sake of clearness a few words should perhaps be said of them. The first was the "Black Code" of Bienville issued in 1724. The second of importance was that of O'Reilley promulgated in November, 1769, during the Spanish occupation. The church had a sort of canon law called "The Laws of Las Seite Partidas" which, according to the translation, had legal force in Louisiana as late as 1820.(18) In 1804 Missouri was placed in that portion of Louisiana called the district of Louisiana and was for a time subject to the Governor and judges of Indiana. On October 1, 1804, the Indiana judges issued a fairly extensive slave code. Other slave regulations of less importance were passed by the territorial authorities.

II. Taxation.

The only mention of a tax on slaves before 1804 is the provision in the Code of 1724, that if the master of a slave convicted of crime gave up his slave to execution he was to be reimbursed by a tax levied on all slaves in the colony.(19)

A law of 1804 provided that "All houses in town.... horses....all bond servants and slaves except such as the court of quarter sessions shall exempt for infirmities, between the ages of sixteen and forty years of age....are hereby declared to be chargable, for defraying the county expense...."(20) We do not gain much light from this provision, because it was of a local nature, as only a portion of the slaves were included in the taxing list, and as the rate of taxation is not given. We find a more definite statement in the Act of July 8, 1806: "....on every bond

18. "The Laws of Las Seite Partidas," Two Vols. Trans. by H. Carleton and H. M. Lislet. (New Orleans, 1820.)

19. In French, Vol. III, p. 89, Section 36. Also in Gayarre, Vol. I, appendix.

20. "Laws of the Territory of Missouri." (Jefferson City, 1842). Vol. I, 34. Repealed July 8, 1806. Ibid. 69, Sec. 29.

servant and slave a sum not exceeding one dollar" shall be levied.(21) It is interesting to learn that the same provision fixes the rate of tax on a horse or mule at a maximum of one-third that amount, and that on cattle at one-tenth. It was not likely that the tax ratio was in proportion to the valuation, especially in a sparsely settled country where grass was abundant and cattle consequently cheap. This doubt is strengthened when we learn that the Act of March 19, 1814, fixed the slave tax at forty cents.(22) This rate was changed by a law of January 21 of the year following which provided: "....There shall be levied and collected for every slave owned or possessed by any person in this Territory, above the age of ten years, except such as the county court shall exempt for sickness or disability, a tax of sixty-two and a half cents annually....," and then in the next sentence: "And there shall be levied and collected in like manner, for every carriage kept for pleasure the sum of one dollar and fifty cents for every one hundred dollars according to its valuation," and in the following section thirty cents was levied on every one hundred dollars of town real estate. (23) From these provisions it is not difficult to conclude that the slave was taxed arbitrarily with no thought of valuation. Why was this slave tax so low? Was this a policy to induce the importation of slaves or the settlement of the Territory by slavemasters? And why were so many slaves exempt from taxation? Was it to reduce the tax in general and thus make the system more profitable? The sequel proves it must have been mere carelessness rather than a system.

When Missouri became a State the slave tax was adjusted to valuation similar to other forms of property. On December 12, 1820, the General Assembly enacted that a tax be levied: "....on all lands....dwelling houses....and

21. Ibid. 69, Sec. 12. Repealed Nov. 11 of the same year. Ibid. 226, Sec. 11, in which it is provided that horses and mules should be assessed at $.37 each and cattle at $.10, slaves still at $1.00.
22. Ibid. 329, Sec. 4.
23. Ibid. 384, Sec. 2 and 3.

improvements, at the rate of twenty-five cents on every one hundred dollars of value thereof,, on all slaves above the age of three years and live stock at the same rate."(24) This seems to prove that the slave was considered as productive as other forms of property. If the over-taxation of the slave was a ruse to make the slave appear ultra profitable in Missouri, it seems more probable this deception would have been resorted to in the days when many claimed the system would prove unprofitable rather than after the struggle was over.

III. Civil Rights—In Court.

Compared with the negro of the Atlantic coast the slave of the Mississippi Valley seems to have been treated less harshly and to have had more rights before the law. The code of 1724 gave him the right to prosecute his master if he was improperly fed and clad, but just how or in whose name the suit was to be brought is not stated.(25) Section twenty-four of the same code debars the slave from witnessing for or against his master. However, he could witness against other whites than his master, as a trial is recorded at Cahokia in 1782 in which a slave testified against a white defendant who had struck him.(26) In all civil and criminal cases his master was to act for him.(27) Although the master was not to be criminally responsible for his slave, we have a decision noted by Billon in which a master was to be responsible for the appearance of his slave accused of attacking another negro, and if the wound so inflicted caused death or if the victim recovered, the said master was to pay doctor's bills and cost of prosecution. (28)

We find a very liberal provision in this code which granted the slave the privilege of appealing to the Su-

24. Ibid. 731, Sec. 1.
25. French III, 89, Sec. 20.
26. Alvord, C. W., Coll. III, State Hist. Soc. (Springfield, 1907.) Vol. II, 143.
27. French III, 89, Sec. 25.
28. Annals of St. Louis, (St. Louis, 1886). Vol. I, 158.

perior Court of the province if a death sentence had been passed, or one in which hamstringing was the penalty. Any magistrate taking money from a slave who was under a charge was to be guilty of extortion.(29)

The first section of the law of 1804 provided that no negro or mulatto was to be a witness except in cases of the United States against a negro or a mulatto, or in a civil suit where negroes were alone parties.(30) The court records of the period after the Cession throw some light on the position of the slave before the law. Several cases are on record in which "....the court direct that an action of assault and battery and false imprisonment be instituted...." against the master after the negro had been declared illegally enslaved.(31) The Missouri Gazette and Public Advertiser of September 4, 1818, gives accounts of two cases then before the courts. One was that of a black boy named Elijah charged with conspiracy to poison his master's family. He was given a new trial after argument by his three counsel. (32) The other is that of a negro girl who was defended on a murder charge by two attorneys.

Thus the slave in Missouri Territory had rights that perhaps were not nearly equal to that of his white contemporary, but were certainly liberal. The records do not mention who paid these counsel or who retained them.

The slave's life was not absolutely in the hands of his master as he had the right of redress before the law. The Law of 1724 provided that the slave if mutilated was to be confiscated. (33) The laws of O'Reilley forbade a slave receiving more than thirty lashes at one time and subjected to the law any master wilfully taking the life of his slave without just cause, "no one being permitted to dispose of the life of a man at his pleasure." (34)

29. French III, Sec. 26, 33, 37.
30. Terr. Laws I, 27.
31. Matilda V. Van Ribber, Mar. 1817, Records St. Louis Supreme Court of Record, or General Court. Vol. II, 144. Also Layburn V. Rice, ibid. 164, also Whinney V. Phebe Rewitt, ibid. 172.
32. Also in ibid. 180, 186.
33. French III, 89, Sec. 22.
34. American State Papers. Misc. I, 380.

Although not stated in the laws, the slave was protected in his life after the Cession. In the case of the United States against Le Blond (1814) the defendant was fined five hundred dollars and costs and sentenced to imprisonment in the "common Gail" for "two calendar months" for killing his slave, but the decision does not state what provocation, if any, Le Blond had. (35) In 1820 one William Prinne was tried for the murder of his slave, Walter, the charge being that Walter had been confined "in a Dungeon or cell dangerous to his health." Prinne was found not guilty. (36) The continual fear of insurrection, in Missouri as elsewhere, caused somewhat drastic laws to be passed restricting the slaves' right to bear arms or to go hunting. The Law of 1724 provided that no slave should carry a weapon or even a heavy stick unless sent to hunt game by his master who must supply him with a written permission. (37) The laws of O'Reilley condemned a slave to thirty lashes for bearing firearms, and he could be shot when found armed if he could not otherwise be captured. (38) These provisions were included in the Laws of 1804. For a slave or a mulatto to carry a "club or other weapon whatsoever" any number of lashes not exceeding thirty could be given "on his or her bare back well laid on." But as Missouri was in the territorial period a frontier community, and as Indian incursions were often feared, a slave in the outlying districts might bear weapons if so licensed by a justice of the peace. (39)

Right to Leave the Plantation.

The overshadowing fear of insurrection and of property loss caused the enactment of stringent provisions against the slave who was found off his master's plantation. The Code of 1724 forbade slaves assembling in crowds for any purpose; the first offense being punished by whipping, the second by

35. Records St. Louis Court II, 86, 96.
36. Ibid. p. 226, 230, 234, 236.
37. French III, 89, Sec. 12.
38. Am. State Papers, Misc. I, 380.
39. Terr. Laws I, 27, Sec. 4, 5.

branding, while capital punishment could be exercised under "aggravating circumstances." Any master permitting such meetings was to be fined thirty livres for the first offense and double that amount if repeated. If his neighbors were injured by such assemblies of slaves he was to pay damages. (40) The Laws of O'Reilley condemned a slave to twenty lashes for leaving the plantation without permission, but one master could not punish the slaves of another. (41)

According to the Laws of 1804, no slave was to leave his master's "tenements" without a pass or other token of authority. A justice was to punish such slave "with stripes" and it was "lawful for the owner or overseer of such plantation [on which the slave had trespassed] to give or order such slave ten lashes on his or her bare back for every such offense." Riots, unlawful assemblies, and seditious speeches by slaves were to be punished with stripes at the discretion of a justice of the peace." Any slave "conspiring to rebel or murder" was to be executed after conviction without benefit of clergy. Any master or mistress of slaves knowingly permitting slaves or others to remain upon their property for more than four hours without consent of the owners was to be fined three dollars and costs, and for permitting more than five slaves to assemble "at any other time" was fined one dollar per slave so assembled. Negroes with passes could meet for worship or on "any other lawful occasion." Any white, free negro, or mulato meeting with a seditious slave or aiding such was fined three dollars if such seditious slave was not exposed, and on failure to pay this should "receive on his or her bare back twenty lashes well laid on." Any justice failing to act within ten days when informed of an unlawful meeting of slaves was to be fined eight dollars and costs, and a sheriff four dollars and costs for the same offense. (42.) A statute of 1817 required slaves without passes to be taken before a justice, the sheriff serving notice on the owner who was to pay the usual summons fee. (43)

40. French III, 89, Sec. 13, 14.
41. Am. State Papers. Misc. I, 380.
42. Terr. Laws I, 27, Sec. 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14.
43. Ibid. p. 501, Sec. 1.

Subsequent to the Cession there seems to have been some reason for stringent laws to prevent slave insurrections. The Louisiana Gazette of February 29, 1812, states that the militia of that territory had been ordered out to "quell a meditated rising of the negroes."

The Missouri Gazette of March 22, 1817, in a way admits the possibility of slave risings: "The existence of that race among us is contemplated by all who have reflected profoundly on the subject, with dread; not from any fears of insurrections which may perhaps be occasionally expected [but from race fusion]." In October, 1819, one Humphrey Smith was accused by the Howard County grand jury of exciting the slaves to revolt. (44)

The Law of 1724 condemned a slave to branding and loss of ears for the first offense in being away from the plantation for more than a month; the second and third offences being punished by hamstringing and death respectively. Free negroes were reduced to slavery for aiding the escape of a slave. The master could by legal means search in "other lands than this colony" for his escaped property." (45)

In the section on insurrection the laws relative to the penalties against a slave leaving his master's plantation include some clauses regarding escape as well as trespass. Two justices could give a warrant to the sheriff, and the owners of the escaped slaves if same were "killing hogs and committing other injuries." (46) A Law of January, 1817, provided that any slave found without a pass was to be taken before a justice. The sheriff was to serve notice on the owner who was to pay the usual summons fee. In case the owner refused to pay this fee the justice "may issue execution for the same as in ordinary cases." Non-resident owners were to have names of escaped slaves published for ninety days in a Territorial paper. (47) If the owner or overseer appeared

44. St. Louis Inquirer, Oct. 20, 1819.
45. French, III, 89, Sec. 32, 34, 35.
46. Terr. Laws, I, 27, Sec. 13.
47. Terr. Laws, I, 501, Sec. 1, 2. In the Mo. Gazette of Aug. 8, 1812, we find twenty-five dollars being offered for the apprehension

within ten days and claimed such slave was doing his owner's business, he was to pay costs before receiving the same. After ninety days' notice the slave was to be sold to the highest bidder "for ready money." After deducting the jail fees and five dollars for the apprehension of the slave, the remainder was to be deposited in the treasury to satisfy the future claims of the owner. There appears to have been no cruel punishments inflicted publicly upon the captured slave, the matter evidently being left to the master.

Right to Buy and Sell.

The Code of 1724 forbade a slave to buy or sell without a written permission from his master, and fixed a fine of fifteen hundred livres upon any one so dealing with a slave without permission. When the master gave his slave such permission he was responsible for the commercial acts of such slave. (48) The Laws of O'Reilley forbade, under penalty of twenty-five lashes, a slave to sell without his master's consent even the products of the waste land given him for his own use. (49) The Laws of Las Seite Partidas bound the master to all commercial acts of the slave if he commissioned said slave to "exercise any trade or commerce." (50)

A stringent provision of the Law of 1804 implies that the master was at times deeply wronged by persons having commercial relations with his slaves. The penalty for buying or selling to a slave without the master's consent was a fine of four times the amount of the consideration involved, and costs. The informer of such transaction was given twenty dollars. Any free negro who had so bought from or sold to a slave, was given thirty stripes "well laid on" in default of the payment of this fine. (51)

of a mulatto boy. The issue of July 31, 1813, offers two hundred and fifty dollars reward for two negroes who could read and write. Nearly every issue in this and following years contains similar notices.

48. French III, 89, Sec. 15, 23.
49. Am. State Papers. Misc. I, 380.
50. Vol. I, 485.
51. Terr. Laws. I, 27, Sec. 11. Repealed Dec. 9, 1822. Ibid. p. 958.

Criminal Laws.

According to the Code of 1724 death was to be the penalty for "bruising or shedding the blood" of the master's family and violence against any free person was punished by "severity, and even.....death should the case require it." The sentence for the stealing of horses, cattle and other large animals was to be "corporal" and "even by death." The penalty for pilfering smaller animals and produce was whipping and branding. The master was either to indemnify the loser or to turn the slave over "to suffer" after he himself had punished the thief. The slave was to be branded and his ears severed if he escaped and failed to return within a month and to be hamstrung and executed for the second and third offenses respectively. (52) This law really seems severe considering the limited number of slaves that could have been in the Mississippi Valley in 1724. When we consider that the Laws of O'Reilley subjected a white man to death for stealing church property, villifying the king, or rape; and to confiscation of property and loss of tongue for blasphemy, these slave laws seem less rigorous. (53)

At Cahokia in 1779 a negro was sentenced to twenty lashes "since he used very bad language and threatened to revenge himself on those who should undertake to seize him." (54) The same year two negroes were sentenced, one to be hanged and the other to be burned alive for sorcery. There is said to have been no evidence of the execution of this sentence. (55)

The Law of 1804 provided that any negro, bond or free, was to be subjected to a maximum of thirty stripes for lifting a hand against whites "Proved by oath of the party unless such negro or mulatto was wantonly assaulted and lifted his or her hand in his or her defence" Death was the penalty only for conspiracy to rebel, for murder, and for the adminis-

52. French III, 89, Sec. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.
53. Am. State Papers. Misc. I. p. 373, Sec. 1, 2, 5, 15.
54. Alvord, Coll. III, Hist. Soc. Vol. II, 43.
55. Thwaites, R. G., "The Colonies." (New York, 1906), 192.

tering of poison. (56) When compared with the general criminal law of four years later these punishments do not seem at all severe. Rape was punished by castration burglary by thirty-nine lashes; perjury by disfranchisement and an hour in the pillory, while for the stealing and branding of horses and cattle forty-five lashes on the bare back "well laid on" were given. Any one stealing slaves, or convicted of enslaving a negro whom he knew to be free was to suffer death. All death penalties were without benefit of clergy. (57)

From the criminal legislation against the blacks we can decide that there was more fear of the slave selling his master's goods or of running away than of his committing private crimes.

IV. Social Customs.

Old Louisiana being a province in which the church was very powerful and the priest influential, we should naturally expect religious provisions regarding the slave. The Law of 1724 required the master to impart religious instruction to the slave, this instruction to be Roman Catholic under penalty of the slave's confiscation. The same penalty was suffered if the slave was forced to work on Sundays and holidays. Every Christian slave was to be buried in consecrated ground. (58)

The laws subsequent to the Cession make no provisions for the religious life of the slave except that no one was to prevent slaves meeting for worship. (59)

In Louisiana as elsewhere the fusion of the races was deplored. Section six of the Code of 1724 states that there was to be no intermarriage between the races; that no priest was to perform such a marriage; that there was to be no concubinage with negresses; that the negress' master and the one causing issue were each to be fined three hundred livres,

56. Terr. Laws, I, Sec. 12, 14, 15.
57. Ibid, 210, Sec. 8 11, 16, 18, 21, 22' 39, 45.
58. French, Vol. III, 89, Sec. 2, 3, 4, 5, 11.
59. Terr. Laws, I, 27, Sec. 8.

the master also to be deprived of the negress and the issue "never to be free."

The slaves appear to have been regularly married. A free black having issue with a slave was to marry same and the issue was never to be free. In case of issue of the slaves of two masters, the said issue was to belong to the mother's master. The master's consent was necessary for a slave to marry, but he could not force his slaves to marry. (60)

After the Cession, legislation on the subject seems to have been dropped. But in the Law of 1804 we find the following provision drawing definitely the line between the races: "Every person other than a negro whose grandfather or grandmother any one is, or shall have been a negro.....and so every such person who shall have one-fourth part or more of negro blood, shall in like manner be deemed a mulatto.'." (61) As there were strict laws against the slave leaving the plantation, and as the negro population was relatively small, and consequently less thickly massed, it is not likely that the morals were so low as farther to the east and south.

In considering a subject like slavery there are always some questions which are uppermost in the mind. How were the slaves treated? Were they underfed and poorly clad? Were these domestic matters solely in the hands of the slave masters? Despite the fact that the Code of 1724 was very severe in some respects it appears to have been very humane in others. For not properly feeding and clothing his slave the master could be prosecuted; aged and maimed slaves were to be supported; and if the owner refused, he was charged eight cents per day for each slave, and his property attached if the tax was not paid. (62) The Laws of O'Reilley provided that

60. French, III, 89, Sec. 6, 7, 8, 9. We find the following provisions in the Laws of Las Seite Partidas: A slave may marry a free woman if she knew at the time that he was a slave, and so could a negress marry a free man, but both must be Christians. Such a marriage was valid despite the wishes of the master. The issue of a free man and a slave followed the condition of the mother, etc. Vol. I, 470.

61. Terr. Laws, I, 27, Sec. 6.

62. French III, 89, Sec. 20, 21.

every slave was to "receive the barrel of corn provided by the usage of the colony; and was also to be given the use of waste lands. "The slave who has not a portion of waste land shall receive punctually from his master a shirt and trousers of linen in the summer, and a great coat and trousers of wool for the winter." It was also provided that "Every slave shall be allowed one-half hour for breakfast, two hours for dinner; their labor shall commence at break of day, and shall cease at the approach of night. Sundays shall be the privilege of the slaves, but their masters may require their labor at harvest.....on paying them four escalins per diem."(63)

The records extant largely refer to the New Orleans country. The negro seems to have been well treated, as the Church took a great interest in him, the soil was abundant and rich and the climate not severe. M. Dumont in his memoirs states that "sometimes a confidential negro.....carries a whip as a mark of distinction [as overseer]. The negresses go to work like the rest; and when nursing children, carry them on their backs, and follow the rest." M. Dumont does not imply that these slaves were badly treated although he admits that runaways were severely handled. (64) Another picture is given by Stoddard who traveled through the country shortly before the Cession: "When we pass into Louisiana [from Mississippi Territory] we behold a different and more disgusting picture. The French and Spanish planters in particular treat their slaves with great rigor; and this has been uniformily the case from the first of the colony.....The labor imposed on the slaves is equal to the powers of the most robust men, and yet for their subsistence they are tantalized with a small pittance of corn.....and also with the hard choice of a little waste land, which they have not time to cultivate, or a few rags to hide their nakedness, or to guard them against the severities of the weather." (65) That there was a difference of opinion as to the treatment of the Missouri slave is evident from the following statements of contemporaries. A corre-

63. Am. State Papers, Misc. I, 380.
64. French, Vol. V, 121.
65. "Sketches of Louisiana." (Phila., 1812) p. 332-5 passim.

spondent of Niles Register thus pictures the state of the institution in the St. Louis country: "The condition of their slaves, when compared with most countries, where slavery is tolerated, is not hard or severe. Their labor is not great, or painful, they are allowed many privileges, and are well clothed and fed." The editor, however, seems suspicious of the veracity of this statement and adds in parenthesis: "Better information satisfies me that this encomium is unmerited." (66)

The laws after the Cession make no mention of the domestic obligations of the master to his slave, and hence it is difficult to understand the ideals of the period.

V. Manumission.

Most of the slave states and colonies discouraged the freeing of the blacks. The Code of 1724 permitted a master who had reached the age of twenty-five years to manumit his slaves by legal procedings, but before the Superior court only. Such freedmen were to have "all the rights and privileges inherent in our subjects born in our kingdom." The freedman was to treat his late master's family with respect. If a slave was appointed a tutor to his master's children "said slaves shall be held and be regarded as being set free to all intents and purposes." (67)

Billon gives the first negro manumission of St. Louis as taking place in 1763. (68)

The Laws of 1804 provided that a slave might be formally freed by writing, but if such slave was not of sound mind, or was a male under twenty-one or over forty-five, or was a female under eighteen, the master was to support the same, and his goods could be attached for that purpose. If an executor did not obtain freedom papers according to testament he was fined thirty dollars. Emancipated slaves were to be hired out or have their goods attached for not paying taxes. (69)

66. Vol. I, 245.
67. French III, 89, Sec. 50, 51, 52. Section 54 reads: "We grant to manumitted slaves the same rights, privileges, and immunities which are enjoyed by free born persons."
68. Vol. I, 39.
69. Terr. Laws I, 27, Sec. 23, 24, 25.

VI. Opinions in 1820.

Some have expressed the opinion that the people of Missouri were not much concerned with the question of slavery till the constitutional questions involved in the fight for statehood began. We have good proof that the Missourians of the Compromise period did not conceive of the institution as a "positive good." In July, 1819, John Scott, the Territorial delegate, thus expressed his views: "I regret as much as any person can do the existence of Slavery in the United States. I think it wrong in itself, nor on principle would I be understood as advocating it; but I trust I shall always be the advocate of the people's rights to decide on this question .....for themselves.....I consider it not only unfriendly to the slaves themselves to confine them to the south, but wholly incompetent for Congress to interfere." (70) It is not likely that a native of Virginia, a man of growing influence who might expect much at the hands of the new state, and one who attacked Tallmadge's motion in the House, would thus condemn slavery in the abstract if his constituency was not similarly minded. Mr. Henry Carroll on presenting an anti-Congressional resolution from Howard county said: "..there are none within my view, none it might be said in Boon's Lick country.....who would not lend efficient co-operation to achieve all the good within their compass, and wipe from the white cheek the foul stain which soils it.....[but] a rejection of slavery can not fail to shut out of our country those disposed to migrate hither from the southern states, under a repugnance to separate from the labor useful to them." (71) On September 11, 1819, the Baptist Association in session at Mount Pleasant Meeting House in Howard County adopted a petition to Congress in which we read: "....although with Washington and Jefferson.....we regret the existence of slavery at all.....and look forward to a time when a happy emancipation can be effected, consistent with the principles of .....Justice.....the constitution does not admit slaves to

70. Mo. Gazette and Boon's Lick Advertiser, July 16, 1819.
71. Mo. Intelligencer, July 9, 1819.

be freemen; it does admit them to be property.....we have all the means necessary for a state government, and believe that the question of slavery is one which belongs exclusively to the state to decide on.." (72)

These expressions are at least evidence that the Missourians were opposed to slavery theoretically, or pretended to be, in order to mollify Congress and the country, and thus make their fight for non-Congressional interference seem unselfish, and themselves conscientiously constitutional.

Political bodies and religious organizations were even joined by the courts in demanding "Squatter Sovereignty" in 1820. The Grand Jurors of St. Louis in April, 1819, thus put themselves on record: "They believe that all the slaveholding states are virtually menaced and threatened with eventual destruction [if slavery is prohibited]...." (73) The Grand Jury of Montgomery County in July, 1819, declared: "They view the restriction attempted to be imposed on the people of Missouri Territory in the formation of a State Constitution as unlawful, unconstitutional, and oppressive." (74) Besides the opinons quoted there are public letters and editorials by the score in the Territorial papers of 1819-20. (75) Many are anti- but most of them pro-slavery, or in more precise terms many of them pro-restriction, but most of them advancing anti-Congressional interference. That there was a considerable anti-slavery element in the Territory can be inferred from the various resolutions passed and the number of candidates supporting that issue. (76) There is little doubt, however, that the state was largely pro-slavery.

We may conclude that slavery as it existed in Missouri in 1820 was a fairly well organized system. It is true there were but a few thousand negro slaves in the Territory, but were chiefly massed along the Mississippi and the Missouri

72. St. Louis Inquirer, Oct. 20, 1819.
73. Mo. Gazette, May 12, 1819.
74. Miles, Vol. 17, 71.
75. See Mo. Gaz. Mar. 24th, and April 7, 1819, Mo. Intelligencer, June 25th and July 9, 1819. Miles, Vol. 16, 288.
76. St. Louis Inquirer, Apr. 12, 1820, etc.

rivers, the only portions of the Territory then well settled. We have seen that special slave codes were enacted, and special slave taxes levied, and as the ratio between the races was about five to one, the negro population must have been sufficient to influence the society and institution of the territorial period.

Hardin College. HARRISON A. TREXLER.

DANIEL BOONE.

Second Paper.

Daniel Boone's Western "Palatinate."

When Daniel Boone made an agreement with the Spanish government to bring one hundred American families to Upper Louisiana, or New Spain, as the territory was sometimes called, it was in furtherance of a scheme to establish beyond the Mississippi a community of manorial lords of the soil. He expected to surround himself with a hundred families or more of his personal friends and acquaintances, each of whom should own not less than one thousand acres, and be a baron or "patroon" by right of "eminent domain." Like all intelligent North Carolinians, Boone was familiar with the early efforts to found a Palatinate in the Carolinas, and he dreamed of a similar aristocratic organization in the sylvan shades of the Spanish possessions. Slavery was a necessary feature of such a system, and consequently all the families that came to Upper Louisiana at Boone's solicitation were slave holders; but usually in a small way. None of the great slave lords of the South ventured west of the Mississippi at that early date. Boone himself owned a few slaves, but he was opposed to the system; and yet, regarding it as a permanent evil, to be endured because it could not be put

away, he sought to ameliorate its harsher conditions. He believed that a community of independent landlords, actuated by liberal and humane sentiments, would be willing and able, in their affluent circumstances, to institute and carry out measures of reform better and more thoroughly than such a work could be done by the small farmers of the older States. It was an impracticable dream, but it demonstarted the benevolence of his disposition, as well as the breadth of his statesmanship; and if the plan could have succeeded, even measurably, it might have made an interesting page in American history.

Meanwhile, the settlements on the Femme Osage grew and flourished. There came not only the "patroons" and the barons, the great landlords and the slave holders, but many of the "under-crust" also found their way into the thriving community. The idea of an exclusive landed aristocracy had to be abandoned, for many rough and tough specimens of society began to make their appearance, who had no drop of aristocratic blood in their veins. These people could not be transformed into owners of baronies and benevolent instructors of slaves, any more than the proverbial silk purse could be manufactured out of a sow's ear. They had none of the refining elements in them. They were the mudsills of the older settlements; and in some instances, desperate criminals who had come west for their own and their country's good. The sittings of the court under the "judgment tree" became more and more frequent; and the whipping-post was found to be not always an effectual instrument of reform; for some of the criminals who were "whipped and cleared" harbored vicious resentments and sought opportunities to gratify their vengeance.

The first murder within the limits of Boone's "Palatinate" was committed on the 13th day of December, 1804, and the criminal was indicted by the first grand jury that assembled north of the Missouri river after the cession of the territory to the United States. The preliminary hearing was held before Commandant Boone, who remanded the accused to the "cala-

bazo" at St. Charles to await the action of the grand jury. When that body assembled it developed that eleven of the twelve members could not write their names. Accordingly, the one whose scholastic attainments had progressed to that point was chosen foreman, and the others signed their conclusions with a cross mark. In framing their indictment they endeavored to make up for their lack of erudition by solemnity of sound and particularly of statement, and the instrument which they laboriously brought forth is one of the curiosities of literature. It likewise possesses a special interest as the first indictment drawn in Louisiana Territory under the American government. In words and figures it reads as follows:

"That one James Davis, late of the District of St. Charles, in the Territory of Louisiana, Laborer, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil, on the 13th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and four (1804), at a place called Femme Osage, in the said district of St. Charles, with force of arms, in and upon William Hays, in the peace of God and the United States, there and then Feloniously, willfully and with malice aforethought, did make an assault, and that the said James Davis, with a certain rifle gun, four feet long, and of the value of five dollars, then and there loaded and charged with gun powder and one leaden bullet, with said rifle gun the said James Davis, then and there in his hands had and held, fired and killed William Hays."

But notwithstanding the fact that William Hays had been "feloniously fired and killed" with a "certain rifle gun" four feet in length and worth five dollars, while said gun was "had and held" by James Davis, there were apparently extenuating circumstances; for when the grand jury found a true bill and bound Davis over to appear for trial in the penal sum of $3,000, Daniel Boone signed the bond, and at the subsequent trial Davis was cleared.

As early as 1805 the settlements in Femme Osage district had grown to such proportions as to arouse the apprehensions

and excite the jealousies of the Indian tribes whose hunting grounds had been invaded. The great Tecumseh heard the complaints of his western brethren, and that year he and the Prophet began their efforts to effect a union of all the northern and northwestern tribes against the whites. They were ably seconded by agents of the British government, who hoped with the assistance of the red men to check the spread of the settlements and drive the Americans back to the tide-water States. In pursuance of their general plan, Tecumseh and the Prophet visited the tribes from the lakes to the Gulf, haranguing their councils and preparing the way for the opening of hostilities. "The sun is my father," boastingly exclaimed the Shawnee chieftain, "and the earth is my mother, and on her bosom will I repose." He represented in his own person the concentrated hatred of his race for the palefaces, and he sacrificed his life in an effort to clear the way for his people to occupy the land which he believed had been assigned to them by a power higher than human. All the western territory had been fairly purchased from one tribe or another, but Tecumseh claimed that the land was owned in common by all the Indians, and that no tribe could dispose of any more than its individual rights. This was the ground of his contention against the white settlers.

But no overt acts were committed until after the declaration of war by Congress on the 18th of June, 1812. Eight days thereafter a grand council of the northwestern tribes convened at Tecumseh's home, near the present site of Springfield, Ohio, and it was then decided to unite with the English in an effort to drive the American settlers beyond the Ohio river. The tribes represented on this occasion were the Shawnees, the Miamis, the Winnebagoes, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Sioux, Otoes, Iowas, and the Sacs and Foxes. The two last named were the only ones that gave the Missouri settlements any trouble. They were kindred nations of the Algonquin family, and usually acted together; but in this instance they were divided. The larger part dwelt on the upper waters of the Mississippi and in the vicinity of the present

site of Rock Island, Illinois. These were the hostiles. Another band, living south of the Missouri river, in territory now embraced in Franklin county, remained friendly to the whites. During the progress of the war the hostiles sent a number of embassies across the country to their southern relatives, hoping to induce them to take up the hatchet; and it was these prowling bands, passing to and fro, that committed the murders in Femme Osage district.

When it became known that war had been declared, the settlers west of the Mississippi realized their danger, and preparations were made to meet the emergency. A number of primitive forts, fourteen in all, were constructed, and companies of rangers organized. These men wore buckskin hunting shirts and trousers, with moccasins of the same material, while their heads were covered with coonskin caps from which the ringed tails depended down upon their shoulders. It was a picturesque uniform, and well suited to the work they had to do. Their arms were the rifle, tomahawk and scalping-knife. The rifle was a familiar instrument in their hands, and an absolutely deadly weapon anywhere within range; while many of them could hurl the tomahawk thirty feet or more with an accuracy that was keenly dreaded by the savage foe. Some of these rangers were as sanguinary in disposition as their Indian antagonists, and the latter knew they had no mercy to expect if they fell into the hands of the white men, for the rangers carried into practice the theory that there are no good Indians but dead ones. Each family in the settlements was supplied with a trumpet, to be blown as a signal in case of danger; and a blast from one of these instruments never failed to put the savages to flight.

The council at Tecumseh's home had scarcely closed its deliberations when the settlers in Boone's Palatinate began to feel its effects. Horses were stolen and driven away, and exposed cabins were burned and their occupants murdered. During the course of three years, from 1812 to 1815, a hundred battles were fought in the region of country now embraced by the counties of St. Charles, Lincoln, Warren and Montgomery.

Only one tragedy, however, was enacted within the immediate limits of the Boone settlement. This occurred at the house of Jonathan Bryan, a nephew of Daniel Boone, who had come with his family to Upper Louisiana at "Uncle Daniel's" solicitation. He arrived in 1800, and the following year he selected a body of land in Femme Osage valley, adjoining what subsequently became the Boone farm. Here he drove his stakes and laid the foundations of a future home. The house was built in 1801, of hewed walnut logs, in conformity with a belief that pestiferous insects would not infest a building composed of that aromatic timber. It stood, and still stands, on the summit of a hill that slopes abruptly down to the valley of the Femme Osage, a little more than a mile west of the spring where Boone afterward built his cabin and held his courts, and where the stone mansion was erected. The roofs and outlines of the two houses can be seen, the one from the other, through the vistas of intervening trees. The Bryan house was a double-log cabin with a hall or passageway between the rooms, and was regarded in its day as an imposing mansion.

Here in 1803 Lewis and Clerk and their party of explorers stopped for several days, enjoying the hospitality of the family and consulting Daniel Boone about the conditions of the western country, for the old pioneer lived as much with the family of his favorite nephew as he did at his own home.

On the morning of May 20, 1815, a band of six Fox Indians attacked the family of Robert Ramsey, whose cabin was situated about two miles northwest of the present site of Marthasville, in Warren county. That was then the extreme limit of the Boone settlements, and the place was regarded as so dangerous that the rangers had advised Ramsey to move his family back to a safer location. He disregarded the injunction, and in due time became the victim of his own rashness. Ramsey and his wife were both wounded at the first fire, but the former, as he fell, grasped the trumpet which hung over the cabin door and blew a blast that frightened the savages away from their murderous work. They did not de-

part, however, until they had tomahawked three children who crouched affrighted in the yard, and one of them was scalped. The scene of this tragedy is still pointed out, the corner of the yard remaining the same as it was then, the spot where the little one fell being marked by the stump of a locust tree that stood there at the time. Mrs. Ramsey died the following day, but the husband recovered.

The sound of the firing and the trumpet blast were heard by a young man who was hunting in the vicinity, and the rangers were at once notified. So rapidly was the news carried by scouts and runners, and from house to house, that by midday the entire country was warned, and armed men hurried to the scene of the massacre. Daniel Boone was among the number, and as his experience in border warfare had given him some knowledge of surgery, he dressed the wounds of Ramsey and his wife.

It was not supposed that the Indians would attempt to penetrate any further into the settlements, and accordingly all the boys and men capable of bearing arms repaired to the Ramsey place, where parties were organized and sent out in every direction to seek the trail of the savages. The women and children were thus left unprotected at home. The Indians separated into parties of two each, and fled in different directions, in order to evade the pursuit of the rangers.

The next morning at daylight one of these parties attacked the Bryan home on the Femme Osage, fifteen miles from the Ramsey place. Mrs. Bryan and a negro woman were in the back yard at the time, attending to some domestic duties, when they were startled by the screams of a little negro boy. On looking up they discovered an Indian warrior who had crossed the fence into the yard, and was running toward them with uplifted tomahawk. He carried his loaded gun in the other hand, but was evidently afraid to use it lest its sound should alarm the neighborhood. The women fled into the hallway, reaching and closing the door just as the Indian came upon them. They caught his head and right arm, the hand still grasping the tomahawk, between the door and the wooden

facing, and thus held him fast. As he struggled to free himself, the negro woman, by her companion's direction, wrenched the hatchet from his hand, and slew him at a blow. The savage sank to the floor and his gun fell into the hall. At that instant another scream from the little boy, who had remained in the yard, warned them of a new danger, and turning toward the south entrance they saw another Indian, armed like the first, and of a peculiarly savage and brutal appearance, running toward the house and distant but a few feet. Mrs. Bryan instantly seized the gun of the fallen Indian and shot the new intruder dead. He fell at the foot of a black locust tree, long since uprooted, but another of the same species stands in the same place, so that a photograph taken of the old house, represents the scene as it was at the time of the tragedy. The Indians were buried in the horse-lot, back of the house, near a great boulder of sandstone, which still marks the spot; and as the family regarded the event with feelings of horror, the dead warriors were ever afterward spoken of with some degree of gentleness, as "strangers who died while traveling that way." Visitors have the graves of the Indians pointed out to them, and are told this legend by the farmer's family who inhabit a new house near-by, and who still drink from the spring that flows on forever.

W. S. BRYAN.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

Herculaneum.

The first postoffice established in what is now Jefferson county was at Herculaneum October 1, 1811, and Charles A. Austin was made the first postmaster. He was a son of Moses Austin, who obtained a grant of land, a league square, covering the site of Potosi, under the Spanish government in 1783. The site of the first post office, which was in a store kept by Austin, has long since been washed away by the Mississippi river. There was a shot tower at this place in 1811 and it was one of the shipping points for the lead from Washington county.

Rush Tower.

The next postoffice in the county was at Rush Tower, which was opened May 23, 1813, by Andrew Fight, as postmaster. Fight was quite a character in his day. There was also a shot tower at this place in 1813 and it was a shipping point for lead. Herculaneum and Rush Tower were the only postoffices in this county till 1827. The mails reached Herculaneum once in two weeks from St. Louis by the old King's Terrace road to the old Joshua Herrington place, and thence by what is now Pevely; and this route was continued to Potosi. The mails to Rush Tower were carried from Potosi via Blackwell's farm on Big River and Tarpley's Mill (now Avoca). Fight was postmaster at this place in 1845.

Selma.

Selma became a postoffice March 13, 1827, and Luther M. Kennett was the first postmaster. Kennett and his

*Report of committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association of Jefferson County.

brother, Ferdinand B., had a shot tower at this place at the time and it became quite a shipping point for lead. Mr. Kennett was afterward mayor of St. Louis and as mayor he delivered the principal address on the occasion of breaking dirt for the first railroad (the Missouri Pacific) in Missouri, July 4, 1851, near St. Louis. Kennett, as a "Know Nothing," defeated Thomas H. Benton for Congress in the St. Louis district in 1854.

Ferdinand B. Kennett, simply to please his wife, erected Kennett Castle at Selma, which is an ideal place for a home.

The mails were carried to Selma and Rush Tower by steamboat in 1827 and from Potosi overland.

Valley Mines.

This office was established March 13, 1830, and Thomas Tarpley was appointed first postmaster. This office was on the mail route from Rush Tower to Potosi, which crossed Big River at the old Blackwell farm-house and thence ran by Bellefontaine and Old Mines. The name of the office should have been Valle, but the Government officials spelled it as it was pronounced, Valley. Valle's mines were discovered by Joseph Schutz in 1824. The name of the post-office was subsequently changed to Perry and Tarpley's mine, which was south of Valle's mine.

Thomas Tarpley, in time, built a grist mill at what is now known as Avoca. The people called it "Tapley's Mill," leaving out the "r" in his name.

DEFUNCT POSTOFFICES.

Selina.

This office was established May 23, 1828, and John Simpson was postmaster. We do not know where this was located, but it may have been at Boli's Mill at the mouth of Saline creek on the Meramec River, nor do we know anything about Mr. Simpson. If any one knows anything about this office or Mr. Simpson the committee would

be pleased to get into correspondence with him. There is no such office now nor has there been for over seventy years.

Sunville.

This office was established April 4, 1838, and John Pence, a blacksmith, was made postmaster. The office was kept at the old Wideman Mill on U. S. survey No. 872, about three-quarters of a mile above Morse Mill. Francis Wideman was granted this land by the Spanish Government, and he erected a mill there in 1802 about the first in the country. Pence had a blacksmith shop at the mill and kept the postoffice until September 14, 1840, when Joseph McKee succeeded him. McKee kept the office in the store of McBurnett, a merchant, till May 16, 1845, when the store was closed, the mill abandoned and the postoffice abolished. The erection of Gherke's Mill, called by the people "Yerkey" and the Maddox Mill (now Cedar Hill) caused the downfall of the Wideman mill with all its business interests. The site of this office has been in corn and wheat for over half a century. Its exact place can not be located, but soon the last vestige of the old mill will be gone, and those who remember it will be called to their long homes and then it will be too late to find the exact place, which was the business center for many years of the Wideman neighborhood.

Osceola.

This office was established May 27, 1837, and was kept by Stephen Senter, postmaster, at his residence near what is now Frumet bridge on the wayside of Big River on U. S. survey No. 3166. It was supplied with mail, what little it had, from St. Louis via House Springs, the route leading up Big River by way of Sunville. This office was discontinued October 11, 1838. It did not pay. The old Senter residence disappeared over thirty years ago. Its site has been in cultivation, in corn, etc.

Glenfinlas.

This office was established September 6, 1838, and Louis Bolduc was made postmaster, and he continued in the office until it was moved to Tyro, May 11, 1850. This office was kept in the residence of Bolduc, which was near the present residence of Mr. Harness on Big River, just below Mammoth cave. It was on the old stage route from St. Louis via Potosi and Caledonia. Dennis Armstrong, a citizen of Hillsboro, drove the coach over this route many years. That part of the old stage route lying between Dry creek and Vivretts' home on Big River has long been abandoned.

Tyro.

This office was moved from Glenfinlas May 10, 1850, and David Wilson was made postmaster. The office was kept at the residence of Wilson at what is now Big River bridge. It was moved March 19, 1867, to Vineland. Walter Slawson was made postmaster at the latter point.

There are other defunct postoffices in this county, but we will reserve them for some future report.

All of which is respectfully sumbitted.

JOHN L. THOMAS,
Chairman of Committee.

SOME HISTORIC LINES IN MISSOURI.

Second Paper.

The Sac and Fox Indian Line of 1804.
The Osage Indian Lines of 1808.
The Fifth Principal Meridian.
The Missouri-Iowa Line.

We will study these lines together, because we cannot well understand the history of one without knowing the history of the others. The history of the Missouri Compromise Line is a tragedy, while that of the above is a drama with comic and tragic sidelights and incidents.

The Sac and Fox Indian Line. November 3, 1804.

This day ought to be memorable in the history of our State. It marks the commencement of our policy in the treatment of the Indians, inhabiting or claiming the country, west of the Mississippi. The Sacs and Foxes claimed, as hunting grounds, all the territory lying north of the Missouri River, extending into what is now Iowa; and the first treaty with any tribe of Indians, west of the Mississippi River, was made at St. Louis, November 3, 1804, by Gov. Harrison, "Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Commissioner and Plenipotentiary of the United States for concluding any treaty or treaties which may be found necessary with any of the Northwestern tribes of Indians, of the one part, and the Chiefs and Head men of the Sac and Fox tribes, of the other part." This treaty provided that these tribes should be under the protection of the United States and that "the boundary line between the lands of the United States and the said Indian tribes" should be as follows: Beginning on the Missouri River,

opposite the mouth of the Gasconade River, thence in a direct course so as to strike the river Jeffreon at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the Jeffreon to the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ouisconsin River, and up the same to a point thirty-six miles in a direct line from its mouth; thence to the point where the Fox River (a branch of the Illinois) leaves the small lake called Sokaegon; thence down the Fox and Illinois Rivers to the Mississippi.

By this treaty it was stipulated that the United States would never interrupt these tribes in the possession of the land they rightfully claimed, but would, on the contrary, protect them in the quiet enjoyment of the same against their own citizens and against all other white persons, who might intrude upon them, and that "if any citizen of the United States should form a settlement upon lands which are the property of the Sac & Fox tribes," such intruder should be forthwith removed. The treaty also stipulated for an annuity to these tribes, and that peace should be made between them and the Great and Little Osages. This treaty was ratified by the Senate, February 25, 1805. The Indian chiefs who execcuted this treaty were Layowvois, Pashepaho (the Stabber), Quashquame, (the Jumping Fish), Outchequaha (the Sun Fish) and Hashegharhiqua (the Bear). Black Hawk, a Sac brave, born at Rock Island in 1767, who was the head of a faction of the tribe on Rock River, refused to recognize this treaty and attributed to it all the troubles he and his party had with the whites in after years. Black Hawk, whose Indian name was Makatoishekiakiok, claimed that the above chiefs were not sent to St. Louis to make a treaty of any kind, but were deputed to intercede for the release of any Indian who was in prison there then on a charge of murder of a white man, and after being gone a long time, they returned dressed "in fine coates and had medals." They reported that when they made known their mission the American father told them they (the whites) wanted land and they agreed to give them some on the west

side of the Mississippi and some on the Illinois side, opposite the Jeffreon. Black Hawk added that these chiefs "had been drunk the greater part of the time they were in St. Louis." The cession of the land west of the Mississippi, made by the treaty of 1804, was evidently intended to cover substantially all the settlements at that time west of that river, and it included the territory now embraced in the counties of St. Charles, Lincoln, Pike, Ralls, Warren and parts of Montgomery, Callaway, Audrain, Monroe, Madison and Marion.

By the Act of Congress of June 4, 1812, the name of our territory was changed from Louisiana to Missouri, and for the first time it was given a legislative assembly to be chosen by the people. By that act, the Governor was authorized "to lay off the parts of the said territory to which the Indian title has been extinguished, into convenient counties," and accordingly, Gov. Benjamin Howard, October 1, 1812, divided the new territory into five counties, St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. He defined the boundaries of St. Charles county, thus: "All that portion of the territory north of the Missouri River and usually known by the name of the Forks, lying between that river and the Mississippi." This substantially covered the Sac and Fox Indian Cession of 1804, west of the Mississippi. By the Act of December 31, 1813, of the first territorial legislature, the boundaries of St. Charles county were made to coincide with the boundaries fixed by the treaty of 1804, with this proviso: "that if the Indian title shall be extinguished to any land bordering on the north and west of the county of St. Charles in the recess of the General Assembly, it shall be the duty of the Governor for the time being, by proclamation, to annex the same to the said county." Prior to this treaty, a few settlers had penetrated the North Missouri region beyond the mouth of the Gasconade, and as far up as Old Franklin, but owing to the hostilities of the Indians they were unable to remain and had to retire.

About 1806-7, the Boones and some others, made salt at Boone's Lick, but they did not go there to make a permanent settlement. Benjamin Cooper, with his family, about the year 1808, undertook to make his home there, but symptoms of a hostile and warlike spirit among the Indians became manifest, and Governor Meriweather Lewis ordered him to return below the mouth of the Gasconade, as he was too far advanced into the Indian country for the Government to afford him protection, and he accordingly retired to L'Oute Island, below the mouth of that river, where he remained two years. But Boone's Lick country was too rich not to be coveted by the whites, and in 1810 Benjamin Cooper and one hundred and fifty Kentuckians and Tennesseenans, mostly men, settled on both sides of the Missouri, and laid the foundations of Booneville and Old Franklin, the larger number of the immigrants locating north of the river. During the next two years, 1811 and 1812, the families of those already there and large numbers of others of wealth, culture and refinement, came to this "Land of Promise," as those who had seen it, called it. The settlers were without the pale of civil government, and knowing the country was full of Indians, they erected, along with their cabins, forts in every neighborhood, for their protection. About this time there were wars and rumors of war with England. Emissaries of England had been sent among the Indians of the Northwest, to enlist them against us, in which design they too well succeded, and Black Hawk and his faction of the Sac and Fox tribes engaged to make war on us. The Indians, mostly Sacs and Foxes, began hostilities against the Boone's Lick settlement before the war between the United States and England was declared. June 18, 1812, Congress passed an act declaring that a state of war already existed between the two countries, and from that time to May 24, 1815, a predatory Indian war upon the settlements north of the Missouri was kept up. Forts were erected in every neighborhood, and many whites,—men, women and children—lost their lives. Much property was

stolen and much destroyed. The settlers west of the mouth of the Gasconade being without civil government, organized military companies of their own, and at their forts, into which they all, with their stock, retired, the sentinels stood guard day and night. Thus, for three years, these pioneer men and women waited and suffered, either agitated by fear and anxiety, or meeting death in its most horrid form.

Time went on and the war went on. Black Hawk, with two hundred braves, joined the British forces near Lake Erie and left some of his tribe and other Indians to keep the settlers in Missouri in a constant state of dread, fear and anxiety, and to make a desultory war on them. During this disturbed period but few settlers went to North Missouri, and some, already there retired to safer places. The war closed by the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, though a treaty had been executed by the parties at Ghent, December 24, 1814, but being without cable communication, news of it did not reach us until after that bloody battle which made a hero of Andrew Jackson and sent him, in after years, to the Presidency.

The Indians did not cease fighting, however, and as late as May 24, 1815, quite a battle between the Indians under Black Hawk and the whites was fought in Lincoln county, Missouri Territory. That fight is known in history as the battle of "Sink Hole." The friendly Sacs, in order to avoid trouble during the war, moved to the Missouri River, and September 13, 1815, at Portage des Sioux, St. Charles county, Wm. Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau, on behalf of the United States, made a treaty with them, re-establishing and confirming the treaty of November 3, 1804, and on the next day, at the same place the same parties made a treaty with the Fox tribe, also confirming the treaty of 1804. And on May 16, 1816, at St. Louis, the same parties made a treaty with the Sacs of Rock River, "the British Band," by which the treaty of 1804 was ratified and confirmed. Black Hawk himself signed this treaty. At Washington City, August 4, 1824, Wm. Clark, on behalf of the

United States, made a treaty with the Sac and Fox tribes by which they ceded to the United States all their lands North of the Missouri, lying within the lines surveyed by Sullivan in 1816.

I find it stated in a history of Clark and other counties in the northeast part of the State, that the Sac and Fox Indian line, of 1804, was surveyed in 1818, and the surveyors extended it northwestwardly to the Des Moines, but while I have no reason to doubt the truth of this statement, I have not been able to verify it by the records at Washington or Jefferson City, or otherwise.

The Osage Treaty of 1808.

November 10, 1808, Peter (Pierre) Chouteau, acting under a special commission of Meriweather Lewis, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the District of Louisiana, on behalf of the United States, entered into a treaty with the Chiefs and Warriors of the Great and Little Osage Indians at Fort Clark, afterwards Fort Osage, now Sibley, on the Missouri River. By this treaty the line between the Great and Little Osage Indians and the United States was defined as follows: Beginning at Fort Clark on the South bank of the Missouri river and running South to the Arkansas river, and down the same to the Mississippi, and the Indians ceded to the United States all the lands which lie East of this line and North of the Southwardly bank of the river Arkansas, and all lands situated Northwardly of the river Missouri. The United States granted to the Indians an annuity and agreed to erect a fort at Fort Clark to protect them from other Indians.

The boundary lines established by this treaty were to be run and marked as the circumstances and convenience of the parties would permit, and the Indians offered to depute two chiefs from each of their respective nations to accompany the commissioner or commissioners who might be appointed by the United States to settle and adjust "the said boundary line."

For some cause, unknown to the writer, this treaty was not ratified by the Senate until April 28, 1810, and the annuity stipulated for had not been paid, nor had any steps been taken to carry out its other provisions. After the ratification of the treaty these Indians were informed that the first payment under it was ready, and accordingly, thirty or forty of the chiefs went to St. Louis to protest against the enforcement of the treaty which they said had been forgotten by them and they supposed had been forgotten by their great father. They informed Gov. Howard that the treaty was made without anthority—that "the Osage Nation had no right to all its country," which "belongs to our posterity as well as ourselves." Le Sonneus was the orator for the Indians, and it is said he spoke "with great art and some eloquence." The Indians also claimed they had not ceded the lands but only given the Whites the right to hunt there. Gov. Howard told them the treaty would be enforced and the Indians finally took what was coming to them under the treaty.

Wm. Clark informed the President, February 10. 1810, that Gov. Lewis had, prior to 1808, given the Shawnees and Delawares permission to make war on the Osages, who had been stealing horses from the former, and could not be restrained. It seems the Osages were kleptomaniacs. Clark also wrote, at the same time, that he had selected the site for the fort in Missouri, provided for by the Osage Treaty of 1808. That fort was built on the site of Fort Clark and was called Fort Osage.

Survey of the Osage Indian Line, South of the Missouri.

Joseph C. Brown, deputy surveyor, under instructions from William C. Rector, Surveyor General of Missouri and Illinois, surveyed the Osage Indian line of 1808 from Fort Clark to the Arkansas River. He had Archibald Gamble assigned him as an assistant surveyor. Brown and Gamble, with John A. Taylor, Reuben M. Hatton, Wm. Hatton, Jahoyda Martin, David Briggs, Andrew Hunter, Solomon Wells,

Owen Wingfield and Andrew Harrison, as chainmen, markers, pack-horsemen and hunters, at one dollar per day each, commenced the survey at Fort Clark, on the 15th day of August, and reached the Arkansas River October 16, 1816. While the Osage Treaty of 1808 provided that the Indians should furnish four of their chiefs to aid the surveyors in locating the lines of the cession, I have not been able to find that they did this, or were even asked to do it.

The Osage Indian Lines, North of the River.

As the Osages ceded all their lands North of the Missouri River, it would seem that, so far as they were concerned, no survey of those lands was necessary, but in the process of time, conditions arose which caused the officials and people to desire the fixing of lines bounding the Osage cession North of the river as will fully appear later on.

William Clark, who became Governor of Missouri Territory in 1813, and remained such until the State Government was organized in September, 1820, issued a proclamation March 9, 1815, defining the boundary of the Osage cession North of the Missouri River as follows: Beginning at the mouth of Kansas River; thence North 140 miles; thence Eastwardly to the river Atcata (which empties into the Mississippi); thence to a point on the Missouri River opposite the mouth of the Gasconade; and thence up the Missouri River to the beginning. Gov. Clark, in that proclamation, made this astounding statement: "The pretensions of other nations of Indians to lands lying within these limits (the limits he then defined), being of very recent date, are utterly unsupported by those usages and that possession and prescription accustomed to found their territorial claims."

The Northern line of the Osage Purchase, as fixed by Clark in this proclamation, would be about the middle of Township 73, and would strike the Des Moines River (if he meant by the Attata the Des Moines) about ten miles above Ottumwa.

This proclamation of Governor Clark is the first suggestion history affords that the Osage cession North of the Missouri River had any definite boundaries, whatever.

The Territorial Legislature, January 23, 1816, about ten and one-half months after this proclamation, established Howard county, bounded on the South by the Osage River; on the West, South of the Missouri, by the Osage Parthore line and North of the river, substantially by the lines fixed by Clark in his proclamation of March 9, 1815, and a county government under the laws of the Territory was at once organized, with the county seat at Old Franklin, for the people then there who had absolute local self-government, with no civil power above them, from 1810 to March 9, 1815, when Gov. Clark annexed that territory to St. Charles county, the county seat of which was then, as now, at St. Charles City.

This brings us to the consideration of the FIFTH PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN, the history of which is intimately connected with the history of the Sac and Fox and Osage Indian lines, which will receive further attention later on.

THE FIFTH PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN.

This line was surveyed in 1815-1816, and as it was the initial movement towards the survey and sale of the public domain West of the Mississippi, it is appropriate, before going into its history, to briefly take a general survey of the public land system of the United States.

Public Lands.

The question of the distribution of public lands among the people is as old as human history. Thirty-four centuries ago, Moses, the great Jewish Lawgiver, in the plains of Moab by the Jordan, near Jericho, gave this land law from God to the people: "Ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land and dwell therein; for I have given you the land to possess it. And ye shall divide the land by lot for an in-

heritance among your families, and to the more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer the less inheritance." And thirty-five years afterwards, Joshua, after having driven out the inhabitants carried this law of Moses into effect. This is the earliest record of free homesteading we can find. And so on down through subsequent ages, the disposal of the public domain was always a burning question.

In Rome, agrarianism became a battle cry of parties, but Roman Agrarianism meant simply the distribution of the public lands as free homesteads to the people and had no reference to the division of private estates among the people as some have supposed.

During the first seventeen centuries of the Christian Era, colossal wrongs became so ingrained in the land systems of England and Continental Europe, that the masses became virtually slaves to the land owners; and these wrongs, buttressed, as they were, by law and prescription, for a long time, defied the efforts of statesmen and philanthropists, and they have not wholly disappeared yet.

The governments found no way to eradicate these wrongs, except to buy the lands from those who had, in one way and another, become owners of them, and turn them over to the tenants on such terms as they could easily comply with.

Russia, in 1842, freed her crown serfs, numbering 22,-851,000, and March 2, 1861, Alexander II, by an Imperial Edict,, freed 21,755,000 serfs of the nobles, and the Government paid the nobles $253,150,000 for 65,500,000 acres of land held by them, and in 1879 the freed serfs owned 186,340,000 acres of land, being 65,500,000 acres bought of the nobles, 114,400,000 acres donated by the Government, and 6,440,000 acres donated by the nobles, the serfs agreeing to pay six per cent per annum on the amount the Government had paid the nobles for fifty years, and assuming some other obligations.

In 1848, in Germany, the state took 60,000,000 acres from the nobles and transferred them to the peasants for $15

per annum land tax and four per cent. interest per annum on the cost of each allotment for 47 years. The State paid the nobles $900 for each serf family.

In England the burdens of the land system were abolished in 1666, but in Ireland the old wrongs still inhere to a large extent, but lately the English Parliament resorted to the Russian and German methods of getting the lands into the hands of the tenants by buying them and turning them over to them on easy terms, though her legislative measures were not as sweeping as they were in those countries and at this moment new measures are proposed, which, it is hoped, will enable the tenants, in that unhappy Island, at no distant day, to own the soil they till without wronging the present landlords or violating their vested rights.

Permit me to ask you to compare the course of despotic Russia in devising a plan to put the lands into the hands of the people as early as 1861, over twenty years before England, free England, took energetic steps to get Irish lands into the hands of Irish peasants by Russian methods much modified. Alexander II, Autocrat of all the Russias, in opposition to the wishes of the nobles, by his own Edict, dated March 3, 1861, set the serfs free and then the Government gave the serfs its own serf lands and bought the lands from the nobles and sold them to the serfs on easy terms.

I sometimes fear we, in our wholesale denunciation of Russian tyranny, forget her nobler and more disinterested measures.

In our own country we find that Virginia and other colonies, possessing public lands, offered liberal homesteads to actual settlers, which induced large numbers of emigrants to settle west of the mountains in the latter part of the 18th century.

But, when our Government dispossessed the inhabitants of the land, though I believe it has never been claimed, at least officially, that such dispossession was done by Divine Command, those in control of public affairs were imbued with the idea that the National Domain would be a source

of immense revenue to the treasury, and from the start a very narrow land policy was pursued. The Government not only refused to grant free homesteads to settlers, but at first it restricted sales to large tracts only, thus giving speculators the power to oppress the people. The Government, however, in the beginning, was liberal with its public lands in two respects: One was in bounties to soldiers, and the other in granting lands for education.

Prior to 1784, private land claims had been described by natural boundaries, and those claims, in this country and in the Old World, had assumed all sorts of fantastic shapes, and were hard to describe. Our Government obviated this evil by the adoption of the rectangular system of surveys. The first instance of rectangular surveying was in Georgia, when, after the Revolution, she laid off eleven tracts of twenty square miles each and divided these into fifty acre lots.

In 1784, our Government, finding itself in possession of the Great Northwestern Territory, determined to adopt a system of surveys which would simplify the description. A Committee of Congress, composed of Thomas Jefferson, Chairman; Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, David Howell of Rhode Island, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and Jacob Reed of South Carolina, was raised to devise a plan of survey of the public domain. This Committee reported, May 7, 1784, an ordinance for this purpose. By this ordinance the lands were to be divided into tracts ten miles square and these into lots one mile square, to be numbered from 1 to 100 beginning in the Northwest corner and running from West to East and from East to West consecutively. This ordinance was amended and reported to Congress April 26, 1785. As amended it required the lands to be surveyed into townships of seven miles square, each township to contain forty-nine sections and each section to be divided into lots of 320 acres each. This is the first mention in our history of "Townships and Sections" in our public surveys. The ordinance was further amended and as finally passed May 20, 1785, it pro-

vided that the townships should be six miles square, divided into thirty-six sections each, numbered from 1 to 36, beginning with No. 1 in the Southeast corner of the township, running North to No. 6, then back to the South line with 7, and so on, ending with 36 in the Northwest corner. By Act May 18, 1796, our present system of numbering the sections, beginning in the Northeast corner of the township and running from East to West and from West to East consecutively, ending in the Southeast corner, was adopted. The townships were to be made by lines running East and West and North and South, six miles apart. Base lines running East and West and Principal Meridians running North and South were either run or adopted. The Ohio River from the Pennsylvania line down to a point four or five miles from Jeffersonville, Indiana, was adopted as the first base line for the public surveys; and a surveyed base line extending to the Mississippi, began on the Ohio River, a short distance above Jeffersonville and reached the Mississippi River just below St. Louis. The first public land surveyed into townships and ranges was the Eastern part of the State of Ohio, constituting what became known as "The Seven Ranges." These ranges were East of a guide meridian running from the Ohio River north about a half mile East of Canton, Ohio. Other guide meridians were surveyed in Ohio but the first Principal Meridian, that was numbered, co-incided with the West line of the State of Ohio. The surveys continued westeward, and the second Principal Meridian starts on the Ohio River at the mouth of Little Blue and co-incides with the line 86 degrees and 28 minutes West Longitude. The third starts at the mouth of the Ohio and the fourth at the mouth of the Illinois River, both running North. The Mississippi River had thus been reached by successive surveys about ten years after the Louisiana Purchase. When we came into possession of this territory, March 10, 1804, we extended to it the land policy of the Nation, and, of course, the Spanish policy prevailing up to that time of granting free homesteads to actual settlers was at once stopped. But that was

not all. It was made a crime to "squat" on the public domain, and the President was authorized to use the military force, if necessary, to remove any intruders found thereon. And even this was not all. No one could even buy land for a home. This restrictive and illiberal policy continued till July 13, 1818, a period of over fourteen years after we acquired the territory. This delay teaches us how slowly events moved a hundred years ago in comparison with the railroad and telegraph times of the present. Several reasons, however, may be assigned for this tarry action of the Government:

1. The older States had no surplus population they could very well spare, and the foreign immigration at that time was very small;

2. Vast tracts of valuable land remained unsold East of the Mississippi River;

3. The War of 1812-15 with England.

4. The process of surveying the public lands was, a hundred years ago, very slow.

5. The majority of the inhabitants of the District of Louisiana were interested in French and Spanish land grants, and they feared the survey and sale of the public lands would interfere with their claims.

But there was another cause of friction between the settlers here and the Government. By the treaty of April 30, 1803, the United States stipulated to protect "the inhabitants of the ceded territory * * * in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion," which was construed to mean that the incomplete grants of land made by the French and Spanish Governments should be confirmed, but in carrying out that stipulation, Congress pursued, in the opinion of the inhabitants here, a very narrow and unjust policy. A General Assembly, elected by the people in the District of Louisiana, was held in St. Louis, September 13th to 27th, 1804, which drew up a remonstrance against the form of government prescribed by Congress for them, and especially against the act providing for the adjustment of the Spanish Grants, which was sent to Congress. This was the

first General Assembly west of the Mississippi, and, though voluntary, there is little doubt it was truly representative of the people in character.

The time finally came when the Government felt it to be its duty to throw the lands West of the Mississippi River upon the market for sale, and as early as February 25, 1811, Congress authorized the President to have the lands here, to which the Indian title had been extinguished, surveyed and put upon the market for sale, and a land office, to be located by the President, was established. But the war with England, coming on soon afterwards, nothing was done till after its close. Indeed, the Indian raids and wars, incited largely, no doubt by English emissaries, were mainly on the territory which every one conceded would be first surveyed and sold.

Points had to be selected from which to begin the survey of a base line and principal meridian West of the Mississippi, and there was quite an extended correspondence in regard to them.

Major Amos Stoddard in his sketches of Louisiana, written probably about 1810, suggested that all the land East of the following line be surveyed and sold: Beginning at the mouth of the St. Francois, up that river to its source; thence North to the Meramec, up that river to a point due South from the mouth of the Gasconade; thence to the mouth of that river, and from thence Northwardly along the Fox and Sac Indian line.

This is the first suggestion, so far as I know, of the mouth of the St. Francois as a starting point for the survey of the public lands West of the Mississippi River.

By Act of Congress of April 29, 1812, 6,000,000 acres of the public lands were appropriated for military bounties,—2,000,000 to be located in Michigan, 2,000,000 in Illinois, and 2,000,000 to be located between the Arkansas and St. Francois Rivers, then included in the territory of Missouri. This evidently had a controlling influence in determining upon the mouth of the Arkansas River, as a starting point for the Fifth Principal Meridian. Another controlling factor in the

selection of this as the starting point, is the historic interest that attached to the mouth of that river. Marquette and Joliet had camped there in 1773, where they found Indian villages. LaSalle also camped there in the spring of 1682, and erected a cross,—the priests singing a hymn,—and took possession of the country for France. Tonty, in 1786, built a fort near the mouth of the Arkansas, and there is no doubt the first French settlement, west of the Father of Waters, was made in that vicinity. The "bird of prey," the notorious John Law, about 1720, selected a large body of land between the Arkansas and St. Francois rivers, where he established a German settlement, nearly two hundred years ago. Up to November 12, 1812, this territory had had no representative in Congress, but that day Edward Hempstead was elected delegate, and he introduced into Congress a bill containing more liberal provisions for the confirmation of the Spanish Grants and extending the right of preemption to the settlers, who, in large numbers, had, in defiance of the law, gone upon the public lands, which, mainly through his efforts, became a law April 16, 1814. This act was the first recognition of any right of a settler to a home on Uncle Sam's domain. West of the River, and this was a mere right to buy land, occupied, at the minimum price, $2.00 per acre, on the usual terms.

William C. Rector had been surveying the public lands in the West for several years, and in 1814, it appears he was principal surveyor for Missouri and Illinois. At that time the public lands were under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Act of Congress of April 25, 1812, had established a General Land Office as a bureau of the Treasury Department, and Josiah Meigs, who had been Surveyor General, with headquarters at Cincinnati, was made Commissioner of the General Land Office in 1814, and Edward Tiffin was then the Surveyor General of the North West Territory, with headquarters at Cincinnati, and his jurisdiction extended to the territory of Missouri.

May 28, 1814, Meigs wrote to Surveyor General Edward Tiffin at Cincinnati in regard to the survey of the lands in Missouri. In this letter he states he had received letters from William Russell and Edward Bates as to the best method to survey these lands. From this correspondence it appears that Wm. C. Rector had outlined to Tiffin, in 1814, a plan for the survey of a certain amount of land West of the Mississippi, which Meigs approved, but owing to the hostile attitude of the most of the Indian tribes, he deemed it best not to undertake the work that year; but as prospects for peace were better, estimates of the work might be obtained, to be submitted to the next Congress.

March 24, 1815, Tiffin was directed to survey a standard meridian, to be drawn from the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers, and to locate the 2,000,000 acres of military bounty land, to be bounded Eastwardly by the Mississippi, and West by the Arkansas River, and if a line be drawn West from the mouth of the St. Francois, would not give 2,000,000 acres, then the balance of the bounty land should be taken North of that base line.

Tiffin was informed June 1, 1815, by General Meigs, that the General Land Office had about completed a system for Rector for the survey of the extensive territory of Missouri, a work which ought to have been done long before that, and that it should be pushed in the future. It seems an order suspending the survey of the 2,000,000 acres of bounty land at the mouth of the Arkansas, had been revoked, for, July 6, 1815, Meigs wrote Tiffin that the order suspending this survey had been revoked and the latter was directed to proceed to have this bounty land surveyed, but said the government would not be responsible for the interference of any Indian tribes, and adds, that "if the contractors were discreet men, no danger need be apprehended." Surveys then were made under contract. Again, July 18, 1815, Meigs informed Tiffin by letter, that the plan of survey, proposed by Rector, had been submitted to the President, and no new instructions for the survey of the meridian and base lines would be issued.

August 2, 1815, Meigs directed Tiffin to report, after consulting Generel Rector, what lands in Missouri ought to be surveyed. Prospect R. Robbins, a deputy surveyor, entered into a contract October 9, 1815, to survey the Fifth Principal Meridian, from the mouth of the Arkansas North to the Missouri river. Robbins administered the proper oath to Hiram Scott and Alex. Baldridge, as chairmen, near the mouth of the Arkansas, October 27, 1815. John Baldridge was appointed axeman. The work of surveying the Fifth Principal Meridian began at the mouth of the Arkansas, October 27, 1815. They reached the base line running West from the mouth of the St. Francis, November 10, 1815, 26 miles and 30 chains from the Mississippi, and November 6, 1815, they crossed the southern line of what is now the State of Missouri, in what was then Lawrence County, though at that time, no such boundary line existed, nor had the Missouri Compromise Line ever been heard of. December 6, 1815, must be noted as an epoch-marker. That day marks the setting for the first time, of the Jacob Staff to survey the public lands of this state, preparatory to putting them on the market for sale for home-making. It is true, there had been a government surveyor at St. Louis ever since 1795, under the Spanish Government and continued under ours, but he was not authorized to survey any lands except what are known as old "French and Spanish Grants." The people had waited, not patiently, but still waited, from March 10, 1804, to December 6, 1815, a period of eleven years and over for this first act towards throwing the public domain open to settlement. The crossing of the Fifth Principal Meridian of our southern border was eighty-one miles West of the Mississippi, and about twenty-seven and one-half miles West of the Iron Mountain Railroad. At that time there were only eight counties in the Missouri Territory, which then included the Louisiana Purchase,—St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Washington, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, Lawrence and Arkansas. The West line of the Osage Purchase constituted the West line of St. Charles, St. Louis, Washington, (by law but not in fact) Lawrence and Arkansas counties. The

Fifth Principal Meridian started at the mouth of the Arkansas river in Arkansas County ran North through a portion of that county, and then through Lawrence, Cape Girardeau, Washington and St. Louis counties to the Missouri river, which they reached at what is now South Point, Franklin County, December 28, 1815, a distance of three hundred and twelve miles. The line did not touch a single settlement from our southern border to within three or four miles of the Missouri river, and no doubt the surveyors had to rely on wild game, chiefly, for food, which pioneer hunters were only too glad to furnish them for a consideration. And it is altogether probable they did some hunting on their own hook.

Joseph C. Brown, deputy surveyor, had contracted to survey the base line, and he, with Nathan Meyers and Richard Sessions, chainmen,, and Nathan Gilpin, marker, began the survey of this line October 27, 1815, (the same day Robbins commenced surveying the Fifth Principal Meridian) and reached the Fifth Principal Meridian November 11, 1815, and the 29th Township, December 5, 1815. This base line runs a short distance South of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Taylor Berry, deputy surveyor, entered into a contract, January 12, 1816, to survey the Fifth Principal Meridian from the Missouri North to the North line of Township 50, and he, with Philip Perkins, J. Martin, Samuel Gray and George Arey as chainmen and markers, began the work on the South side of the Missouri, January 18, 1816, and completed his contract January 31, 1816. Elias Barcroft contracted January 18, 1816, to survey this meridian from the North line of Township 50, now in Lincoln County, to the Mississippi river, and he began work May 27, 1816, and reached that river about two miles above Clarksville in what is now Pike County, May 29, 1816.

By examining a map it will be seen that the Fifth Principal Meridian, as thus surveyed, coinciding with the line of 90 degrees 58 minutes West Longitude, is three hundred and seventy miles long and is the chord of an arch formed by the Mississippi river. That river swings its farthest eastward sweep near

Norfolk. Mississippi county is nearly one hundred and five miles West of St. Louis. The fifth Principal Meridian has been made the basis of the surveys of the public lands in Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, all of Minnesota West of the Mississippi river and all of the two Dakotas East of the Missouri river. It, if extended from Pike County, would have crossed the Mississippi into Illinois, and would have crossed to the West side again about the middle of Iowa, near the North line of Township 77. It was surveyed from the point where it crossed the Mississippi into Iowa North to the Mississippi, where it again crossed over to the East side, a distance of seventy-nine miles, and if extended North from this last Mississippi crossing, it would strike Lake Superior near Ashland.

So far as Missouri is concerned, the actual survey of the Fifth Principal Meridian terminated in Pike County, as stated above, but it was in practice, assumed to be continued North through Illinois and Wisconsin, making it the standard line for the lands West of the Mississippi as stated above. From the base line, running West from the mouth of the St. Francois, one hundred and sixty-three townships to our Northern boundary, a distance, approximately, of 978 miles, have been surveyed, and from that line, nineteen townships to the South line of Arkansas, a distance of 114 miles, making the whole distance on a straight line from the Southern boundary of Arkansas to the Northern boundary of Minnesota, 1092 miles. The ranges were numbered from this meridian, East and West, and we find eighteen ranges or portions of ranges to the East, and forty-three or portions thereof West of that line inside of the boundaries of Missouri.

Meigs notified Tiffin, January 12, 1816, that the proposition supposedly made by Rector to survey 200 townships in Missouri, had been approved and that 105 townships would be offered for sale at St. Louis. And again, March 6, 1816, Meigs wrote Tiffin that the president had directed that 100 townships in the vicinity of St. Louis be surveyed, and, at the receiver's suggestion, the land, ceded by the Sac and Fox Indians by the treaty of 1804, be first surveyed and the balance

of the townships be surveyed in the vicinty of St. Louis,—100 townships to be surveyed into sections. Of course, this was all that was at that time expected to be offered for sale.

Wm. C. Rector was addressed at Kaskaskia, Ill., May 10, 1816, notifying him that a new land district had been formed, composed of Missouri and Illinois territories, and that he had been appointed Surveyor General of that district. May 11, 1816, Rector was directed by the Secretary of the Treasury to survey the 500,000 acres of bounty land authorized by Act 29 April, 1816, in connection with the lands North of the Missouri. By this act the bounty land was not to be located on any land to which the Indian title was not extinguished, May 11, 1816. two days after this order, to-wit: May 13, 1816, the treaty with the Black Hawk party of the Sac tribe was entered into, ratifying the treaty of 1804. Rector at once proceeded to let contracts for the survey of range and township lines in the vicinity of St. Louis, and for their subdivision, preparatory to offering the lands for sale. It seems that Rector, at first, made his headquarters at Kaskaskia, but August 26, 1816, we find him at St. Louis, and the office of the Suveyor General for Missouri and Illinois was ever after that in that city.

It took over two years, or to the middle of the year 1818, before the lands were surveyed and subdivided so as to be offered for sale.

May 1, 1818, Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Offices, sent Alex. McNair, Register, and Samuel Hammond, Receiver of the land office at St. Louis, the President's proclamation that the sale of public lands would begin at that office August 3, 1818, on which day the sales did begin. That was a great day for St. Louis and the Missouri territory. From March 10, 1804, to that day, no one had been able to obtain, by purchase or gift, title to any of the public lands for home making, or for speculation. Here was a period of fourteen years before the public domain was put upon the market. The minimum price for the public lands at that time was $2.00 an acre, one-twentieth in cash and the balance in five annual installments. The lands were first offered for sale to the highest

bidder at public auction, and if no one bid $2.00 an acre, they were returned unsold for want of bidders, and after that they could be entered at the Land Offices for the minimum price of $2.00 an acre, on the above terms. The President issued a proclamation that the land sales at Old Franklin, Howard County, would begin September 7, 1818, but there was quite a spirited controversy about the legality of offering the lands there for sale, as they were clearly within the Sac and Fox boundary lines, and one of the officers there resigned and the sales in consequence, were continued to November 2, 1818, on which day the land sales began, Gen. Thomas A. Smith being Receiver, and Charles Carroll, Register. "The crowd in attendance upon these sales was said to have numbered thousands of well-dressed and intelligent men from all parts of the East and South."

At the first public sales, there seems to have been quite a good deal of competition among the bidders, but this was evidently caused by those from a distance, for the settlers had a tacit understanding not to bid against each other for the lands they respectively wanted, and in after years there seems to have been no competition for the lands at public sale, and hence, no lands were sold that way, or at least, not much.

The settlers in the Franklin or Howard Land District had given notice to the officers of the Land Office of their pre-emption claims. So universal was the pre-emption right claimed, that the settlers there were called "pre-emptioners."

Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury, November 27, 1818, wrote Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Office, that the right of pre-emption inside of the Sac and Fox Indian reservation did not exist, because at the time of the passage of the Act of April 12, 1814, granting the right of pre-emption in the Missouri Territory, these lands were not recognized as under the civil government of the Territory, or as being subject to pre-emption. This letter caused great excitement, and the right of pre-emption in Howard County became a political one, and its discussion was to the exclusion of every other question, and on March 3, 1819, Con-

gress passed an act confirming the right of pre-emption to the people in this district. It seems Secretary Crawford was inconsistent in holding that the right of pre-emption did not exist as to lands West of the Sac and Fox line of 1804, for he raised no objection to the survey and sale of those lands, and the survey of the 500,000 acres of bounty lands therein. If the Government had the right to sell those lands, or grant them to soldiers as a bounty, it certainly had the power to grant the right of pre-emption.

Many of the most illustrious men of our state were among the pre-"emptioners," and they, in after years, became potent factors in the evolution and progress of our great state.

The credit system, in the sale of the public lands, very soon proved disastrous, and in 1820, Congress interposed for the relief of those who had gone in debt beyond their means to pay, and the price of lands was reduced to $1.25 an acre in cash.

The area of Missouri is over 43,000,000 acres, and the state received first and last, through her continued importunity, about one-fifth of this area in School, Seminary, Internal Improvement, Railroad and Swamp Lands, besides her share of the road and canal fund, and of the surplus revenue arising from the sale of the public lands.

If there was any one thing our state hankered after more than another, it was for land for all sorts of purposes, and from the earliest period, the legislature, while fervid in its admiration for and endorsement of President Jackson, who held that the National Government had no constitutional power to appropriate any of the public domain for internal improvement in the states, never lost an opportunity from year to year and from session to session, to memorialize Congress to grant her lands for roads, rivers and railroads, and Congress responded so liberally that the state finally got one-fifth of the whole area of the state as has been stated.

The survey and sale of the public lands in the state progressed as the settlements extended the frontiers until 1849, when it was completed so far as the exterior lines of the town-

ships were concerned, but the sales have continued to this time, there being still between 50,000 and 75,000 acres of the public lands in her borders.

In 1863, free homesteads were offered to actual settlers in this section of the country for the first time. Here was a hiatus of nearly sixty years between the free homesteading in our territory under Spain and under our own government.

JOHN L. THOMAS.

(To be concluded.)

BOOK NOTICES.

Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War. Published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Boston, v. d.

The seventeenth volume of the above work has been received, completing the alphabetical list to the end of the alphabet. The work is of great value to those who are descendants of persons who were in the Revolutionary war from Massachusetts.

History and Government of Missouri. By Jere T. Muir, LL. D., formerly Vice President of the State Normal School Kirksville, Missouri. Boston...Ginn & Company (c. 1908).

The Preface states that this book of 154 pages is intended for the seventh and eighth grades in the public schools, or the first year in the high school. Such being the object and compass of the work it is necessarily limited in the points treated, and in the detail of those selected. The selection of these has been made with judgment, and the language is clear and pointed. The book can be well recommended for the purpose for which it was issued.

Sardonics. Sixteen Sketches. By Harris Merton Lyon. New York (c. 1908).

The author in the dedication calls these sketches a "little flight of black butterflies," and while they are not called "Satanics" they all have a satanic view running through them, and the principal characters are not of the lovely and attractive order.

The book is well written. The author is a graduate of the academic department of the Missouri University of the class of 1905, and is now on Hampton's Magazine in New York.

Am Sonnigen Hang. Neueste Leider und Gedichte von Johannes Rothensteiner. St. Louis, Mo. Verlag von B. Herder. (1909.) 16 mo. 182 p.

We welcome the latest book by Father Rothensteiner, of St. Louis, a member and one of the trustees of this Society, and a frequent contributor to our library. The work is issued in an attractive binding, and is an excellent companion volume to the "Hoffnung und Erinnerung, Lieder aus Amerika," by the same author.

NECROLOGY.

Baptist Ministers and Prominent Members.

The minutes of the Missouri Baptist General Association for 1908, has obituaries of the following ministers and prominent members of that organization:

Rev. James Ebenezer Hughes, born in Howard county, March, 1821, and died in Clinton county, Aug. 18, 1908. He was a member of the House in the 27th General Assembly, 1873-74.

Rev. J. H. Cooper, born in Tennessee, died in Bolckow, Mo., July 29, 1908.

Rev. G. P. Beswick, born in Perryville, Ky., June 24, 1837, came to Missouri in 1866, and died in Liberty, June 8, 1908.

Rev. J. T. Weaver, born in Illinois, March 3, 1839, moved to Missouri during boyhood, and died at Summerville, Mo., June 29, 1908.

Rev. Julian Avery Herrick, born in La Grange, Mo., March 18, 1871, and died in Maryville, Mo., Jan. 2, 1908.

Rev. Harrison Love, born in Pike county, Mo., March 13, 1841.

Rev. Jonathan M. McGuire, born in Boone county, Mo., May 1, 1830, died at Arrow Rock, Jan. 1, 1908. He was a graduate of the academic and law departments of the State University.

Dr. R. W. McClelland spent his early life in Boone county, Mo., and for forty-two years practiced medicine at Arrow Rock, where he died Dec. 6, 1907.

Rev. J. M. McCourtney, born in St. Francois county, Mo., died in Clarksburg, Mo., aged nearly eighty-one years.

Elder James M. Smith, born in Fayette county, Ky., Oct. 18, 1819, died in Carthage, Mo., Dec. 19, 1907.

Rev. J. W. Whitlock, died at Trenton, Mo., Dec. 9, 1907, aged about four score years.

Rev. B. T. Thomas, born in Berkley county, Va., July 22, 1832, and died at Aullville, Mo., July 23, 1908.

Deacon Downing Miller, died at Harrisonville, Mo., Dec. 9, 1907.

Rev. James S. Buckner, born in Meigs county, Tenn., Aug. 7, 1832, and died near Ash Grove, Nov. 6, 1907.

Rev. Edward Jennings, born in Virginia in 1834. His ministry was in Pike and adjoining counties.

Rev. L. C. Musick, born in St. Louis county in 1814, and died Jan. 14, 1908.

Rev. Bert L. Phariss, a graduate of William Jewell College, resident at Rolla, died at Louisville, Ky., Feb. 6, 1908.

Mrs. Mary Browning, died at Plattsburg, Mo., March 15, 1908, leaving all her estate to William Jewell College.

Rev. Manley J. Breaker, born in North Carolina in 1850, came to Missouri in 1868, and died Oct. 1, 1908.

Hon. A. W. Allen was born in Belmont county, Ohio, sixty-two years ago, and for the last thirty-nine was a resident

of Kansas City. He was elected a member of the House of the 45th General Assembly, but was not able to go to Jefferson City to take his seat, and he died of acute heart disease February 16, 1909.

F. S. Calloway, principal of the High School at Clinton, Missouri, and a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri, died at Clinton, in his native county, March 11, 1909. He was a graduate of William Jewell College, and for several years was business manager of the Democrat at Clinton, and afterwards became a teacher. For some years he had been principal of the High School at Clinton, and at the time of his death was County Commissioner of Schools, serving his second term.

Col. John D. Crawford, born in Pettis county, Missouri, March 1, 1838, died in Sedalia, December 20, 1908. His father, John E. Crawford, settled in Pettis county at an early day, and in 1842 was a member of the House of Representatives in the Twelfth General Assembly from Pettis county. Later he had a farm of 800 acres south of Sedalia, and died at the age of 89 years.

Col. Crawford enlisted in the Union service in the Civil War, August 18, 1862, and was made captain of Company C, 40th Regiment of Enrolled Missouri Militia, and was commissioned Colonel of that regiment June 23, 1864. In 1870 and 1874 he was elected Recorder of Pettis county, and in 1888 was elected Mayor of Sedalia. For nearly thirty years he was vice president of the Citizens National Bank of Sedalia, and for many years was one of the best citizens of the city.

Samuel Hobbs Elkins, postmaster at Columbia since Aug. 3, 1889, except during the Cleveland administration, a brother of United States Senator Stephen B. Elkins, died March 8, after an illness of a year and a half. He was born in Henry county, Missouri, April 13, 1847, and came to Columbia in 1874, where for two years he attended the State University, of which his brother, the Senator, is an alumnus.

Mrs. Theresa J. Freeman, a resident of St. Louis for sixty-six years, a leader for many years in the Southern literary circles of the city, and one of the founders of the Writers' Club of St. Louis, died in that city Feb. 28, 1909. She was born in Paris, Kentucky, March 24, 1818. She was the author of "Silver Lake; or the Belle of Bayou Luie," and "Huntington; or Scenes of Real Life."

Hon. Ebenezer M. Kerr was born August 30, 1841, in Marion county, Ohio, and reared in Indiana. For four years and eight months he was a member of the 53rd Indiana Infantry regiment in the Civil War. He removed to Hickory county, Missouri, in 1870, and was after that date a resident of Missouri. He was a member of the House in the 36th, 37th and 45th General Assemblies. During the present session he was taken sick and died at Jefferson City, February 27, 1909.

Leonidas M. Lawson a member of this Society died at St. Joseph, where he was visiting, March 28, 1909. He was born in New Franklin, Missouri, in the neighborhood of seventy-five years ago. He received from the University of Missouri the degree of A. B. in 1853, A. M. in 1866, and LL. D. in 1908, at which latter date he was elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. In 1870 he delivered the Alumni address at the University commencement. After graduating at the University he taught in William Jewell College, then studied law under Gen. A. W. Doniphan, was elected to the State Legislature from Platte county in 1860, and during the Civil War was colonel on the staff of General James Craig. He became a banker at St. Joseph, and in New York City is 1869, but retired from business and resumed the practice of law in 1892. Ten years ago he retired from active life, and remained a resident in New York City.

Dr. John S. Logan, of St. Joseph, a member of the State Historical Society, on January 18th slipped on the sidewalk in front of his business building, and fell striking his head on the steps, and in a few minutes was dead. He was born

in Shelbyville, Kentucky, June 25, 1836. His father was from Ireland, and his mother was of the Sublette family of Kentucky. In 1857 he with the family came to St. Joseph, where he studied medicine, afterwards attending the Kentucky School of Medicine and the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. During the Civil War he was for three years a surgeon in the United States army. After the war he became engaged in financial affairs, and acquired large bodies of land in Southwest Missouri and in Texas, and also real estate in St. Joseph, and was at the time of his death worth some $300,000.

Prof. David Russell McAnally, son of Rev. David Rice McAnally, for many years editor of the St. Louis Christian Advocate, was born at Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 24, 1847, and came to Missouri four years later. He was educated almost wholly under the private instruction of his father. In 1876-77 he was appointed professor of English in the State University, and remained such until 1884-85, when he returned to special newspaper work, and was connected with the Globe-Democrat until his death, which occurred in St. Louis, Feb ruary 16, 1909. He was the author of "How Men make Love and Get Married," "Irish Wonders; Popular Tales as Told By the People," "Philosophy of English Poetry," "The Unemployed," and many articles published by the periodical press.

Prof. Robert Baylor Semple was born in 1842 near Fredericksburg, Virginia, and from 1861 to 1865 was in the artillery service in the Confederate army, previously having graduated in the University of Virginia. In 1868 he came to Missouri to take the place of professor of Latin in William Jewell College which place he held for forty years. On account of ill health Prof. Semple retired from active work last year, and he died in St. Louis, February 8, and was buried at Liberty, Mo.

Hon. Henderson L. Ward was born in Harlan county, Kentucky, October 20, 1841, and during the Civil War served in Company F, 49th Kentucky Infantry. In 1874 he settled in Holt county, Missouri, and was latterly engaged in farming and stock raising. In 1888 and 1890 he was a member of the county court, and was prominent in the Masonic and Odd Fellow orders. He was elected to the 45th General Assembly, and was assigned to important committees in it. He had an attack of la grippe, and resumed his work in the Legislature too quickly, resulting in a relapse and pneumonia and his death February 25, 1909.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

OFFICERS.

E. VIOLETTE, Kirksville, President.
H. R. TUCKER, St. Louis, Vice President.
EUGENE FAIR, Columbia, Secretary.
N. M. TRENHOLME, Columbia, Editor.

Minutes of Annual Meeting.

The Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government held two sessions in Kansas City, December 29-30, 1908.

Tuesday Afternoon, Dec. 29, 1908.

The meeting was called to order at two o'clock p. m. of the first day by the president, Mr. Violette. A paper on "Some of the Essentials of Effective History Work in the Secondary Schools" was then read by Mr. T. H. MacQueary of the Yeatman High School, St. Louis. The paper was discussed by Miss Nelle Alexander, Paris, Mo., leader; Mr. Bass, Warrensburg, Mo.; Miss Porter, St. Joseph, Mo.; Mr.

Shields, Kansas City, Mo.; Mr. Bristow, Kansas City, Kan.; Mr. Anderson, Springfield, Mo.; Mr. Fair, Columbia, Mo.; Mr. MacQueary closed the discussion.

Mr. Violette then made some remarks on the organization of the Society of Teachers of History and Government, after which a paper on "The Attitude of the High School Teacher Towards the Religious and Political Prejudice of the Student" was read by Mr. C. M. Weyand, principal of the Moberly High School.

The paper was discussed by Miss Alberta Ross, Springfield, Mo., leader; Mr. Theilman, Appleton City, Mo.; Mr. Shouse, Kansas City, Mo.; Mr. Lilly, Moberly, Mo., and others whose names were not obtained.

The attendance was large and great interest was manifested.

Wednesday Afternoon, Dec. 30, 1908.

The meeting was called to order by the president at two o'clock p. m. A paper was then read on "The Preparation of the Teacher of History" by Miss Winifred Johnson, State Normal School, Cape Girardeau. The leader of the discussion was absent, but a lively discussion took place just the same. The following took part: Mr. Lewis, Maryville, Mo.; Mr. Violette, Kirksville, Mo.; Mr. Anderson, Springfield, Mo.; Mrs. Green, Kansas City, Mo. Many others asked questions. Miss Johnson closed the discussion. A paper on "History in the Elementary Schools" was then read by Mrs. Josephine W. Heermans, Whittier School, Kansas City, Mo. This was discussed by Miss Fannie Brennan, Garfield School, St. Joseph, leader; Mrs. Harvey, Kirksville, Mo.; Mr. Underwood, St. Louis, Mo.; Mr. Lewis, Maryville, Mo.; Miss Porter, St. Joseph, Mo.; Miss Barnes, Kirksville, Mo. Mrs. Heermans closed the discussion.

A motion was carried empowering the president to appoint a committee of three to report on the advisability of investigating the condition of history teaching in the elementary schools of Missouri. The following were appointed:

Mr. Lewis, Maryville, chairman; Mrs. Heermans, Kansas City; Miss Porter, St. Joseph.

Mr. Fair was elected permanent secretary.

Mrs. Heermans was elected member of the Educational Council for three years, Miss Gilday's term having expired.

The attendance at this session was also large. Thirteen members were added to the Society during the two sessions. There are now about forty members.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at Washington, D. C., and Richmond, Virginia, December 28-31, 1908.

To one who has attended regularly for some years past the annual meetings of the American Historical Association, that of December, 1908, seemed not a whit behind the high standard of the recent previous meetings of the Association. The first session was held Monday evening, December 28, in conjunction with the Political Science Association, the occasion being the annual address of the President of the latter Association, Hon. James Bryce. After the address Ambassador and Mrs. Bryce received the members of both Associations at the British embassy.

The session of Tuesday forenoon was devoted to a series of five papers dealing with the use of census reports, newspapers and press dispatches, as historical material. A vast quantity of unpublished data, it was said, more or less valuable for American social and economic history, remains unanalyzed and unarranged in the offices of the Census Bureau because means for working over this material have never been appropriated. In regard to the use of newspapers, the great difficulty lies in the practical impossibility of indexing the enormous mass of material published daily by the press of the country.

Tuesday afternoon a special train took the visiting members to Richmond, and that evening Professor George B.

Adams, President of the Historical Association, delivered the annual address.

The sessions Wednesday and Thursday forenoons were devoted to conferences on special historical topics and problems, one of the most valuable features of recent meetings. There were conferences for the teachers of history in secondary schools, and conferences attracting the attention of the University professor chiefly interested in directing graduate work. Three conferences deserving particular mention were those on research in English History, in American Colonial and Revolutionary History and in Southern History.

On Wednesday evening there were four extremely interesting and scholarly papers on topics in English and European History, while at the meeting Thursday evening the general topic for consideration was the Wilderness campaign. Grant's conduct of that campaign was discussed from the Confederate standpoint by General Alexander of the Confederate army; Lee's conduct of the campaign, from the Federal standpoint, by Colonel Livermore of the Federal army; while the campaign from our present point of view was most strikingly presented by Major Swift of the United States army.

A chief value in these annual meetings lies in the opportunity which members of the Association find to become better acquainted with one another. The arrangements for the 1908 meeting admirably fostered the social spirit. In addition to the social features of the program (the reception given at the British embassy, a luncheon given by the Washington members and receptions by the Woman's Club and by the Confederate Memorial Literary Society at Richmond) it was arranged that the regular sessions should be held at the hotel headquarters of the Association, thus giving more time and opportunity for social intercourse between the sessions . In this connection also it is a pleasure to mention the cordiality and hospitality of the people of Richmond, and the courtesies extended to visitors by the Cosmos and University Clubs of Washington, and the Westmoreland and Commonwealth Clubs of Richmond.

F. F. STEPHENS.

BOOK REVIEWS—I. ENGLISH HISTORY.

Brett, A. C. A., Charles II. and His Court. (Memoir Series), London, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908. $2.75.

An interesting account of the life of Restoration times preceded by some account of the life of the prince before "he came to his own." Stress is laid on the personal and social aspects of Charles' II.'s life rather than on the political and no attempt is made to present the history of the time chronologically. The life of town, country and court is vividly depicted and an excellent impression is obtained of English society of the time. The closing chapter of the work discusses the character of Charles II. in a somewhat favorable way. There are a number of references to the literature of the time, but on the whole the work is popular.

This would make a good library book for schools that could afford it and would furnish good illustrative reading for English history, especially in courses where emphasis is laid on social and cultural aspects.

Cheyney, Edward Potts. Readings in English history drawn from the original sources, intended to illustrate a Short History of England... Boston, New York, etc. Ginn & Company, 1908. Pp. xxxvi, 781. $1.50.

This is a collection of source readings that will be heartily welcomed by teachers of English history. Although compiled with reference to the subject matter in Professor Cheney's own text these extracts can be profitably used in connection with other texts of English history and the book will therefore meet a general need for a well rounded collection of illustrative extracts from the sources. The work of selection has been done with care and insight into the needs of the teacher and no one can fail to find the material desired in connection with political, social and institutional development. An excellent table of contents, useful introductory notes, and a serviceable index make the use of the extracts easier than in other collections less well arranged.

Every teacher of English history in high schools should

make acquaintance with this work, and it can be profitably used by pupils whether studying Professor Cheyney's text-book or some other.

Lowell, Abbott Lawrence. The Government of England. New York, The Macmillan Co. 2 vols. $4.00.

This work is one of those standard treatises that now and again appear and constitute the teacher's most satisfactory and reliable sources of information. The author gives a thoroughly clear and authoritative account of the present system of government in England and, in addition, devotes five excellently written chapters, constituting Part VI. of the work, to the British Empire. Almost the whole of the first volume is devoted to the central government in England and a detailed description is given of the activities of the various organs and agencies in the complicated British system. Part II on the party system takes up the closing portion of Vol. I., and the opening one hundred pages of Vol. II. Then follows an interesting account of local government in nine chapters, a discussion of English education from the governmental standpoint in four chapters, and three chapters on the established church. There is also a section on the courts of law, and a few concluding chapters of reflections on present characteristics and tendencies in English government.

The reviews of Mr. Lowell's book have been almost uniformly favorable and many of them extremely laudatory, though the London Atheneum (June 20, '08) says "Professor Lowell is so firm an admirer of Whig principles and the British Constitution as created and explained by Whigs that he hardly makes sufficient reservation of still-existent and important old Tory views," while the New York Nation (July 9, '08) makes the criticism "that Professor Lowell does not often enough make biography a handmaiden to his exposition of constitutional rule and procedure." The completeness of the account, the clear style, and admirable arrangement of topics make this an indispensable reference book on all question of English government, while the po-

sition of the author as President Eliot's successor in the headship of Harvard University give the work additional interest and importance. For an excellent detailed review of these two volumes consult "The American Historical Review," Vol. XVI., 140-142, (Oct. '08).

Selincourt, Hugh De. Great Ralegh. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

A very interesting and useful account of the life and times of the great Elizabethan captain and courtier. The education, military and court life, maratime enterprises, political activities and misfortunes of Sir Walter Ralegh are dramatically portrayed. The last six chapters deal with Ralegh's imprisonment under James I and the tragic ending of the final expedition to South America. The book is written throughout in a readable style and has a number of interesting illustrations of prominent characters of the age. As a reference book for the Elizabethan period of English history it has a distinct value and is an historical biography of a superior sort.

Stenton, Frank Merry. William the Conqueror and the Rule of the Normans. Heroes of the Nations. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.

This is a well balanced brief account of the reign of the great Norman king of England and of his experiences as duke of Normandy. A valuable introductory chapter reviews in a general manner the background of Norman and English history and prepares the reader for the detailed account of William's life in Normandy and England. The first nine chapters then concern themselves with the career of the Conqueror, while the last three are devoted to the Church, the royal administration, and Domesday Book. There are many interesting historical illustrations throughout the volume, also, at the end, some genealogical tables of value, and a serviceable index. On the whole Mr. Stenton's little book commends itself strongly as a work of special reference

for high schools and colleges and should take its place as one of the standard smaller reference books for English history.

White, Albert Beebe . The Making of the English Constitution, 499-1485 New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.00.

This is a general account of English institutional development during the Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet periods. The subject is treated topically rather than chronologically and particular attention is given to the central courts and judiciary. As Professor White has designed his work for a text-book he does not make any positive contribution to our knowledge of English institutions but seeks to give an interpretation of English constitutional and legal history based on the best secondary authorities. A select and annotated bibliography and lists of topical readings are prefaced to the work and will be of use to both teachers and students. In general appearence and make-up the book is attractive and is provided with a serviceable index. It will be difficult to make use of this work, however, in high schools save on special questions of development, but it should be of value and service in college and university teaching and of stimulus to all teachers.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

II. AMERICAN HISTORY.

The United States as a World Power. By Archibald Cary Cooledge. (New York, Macmillan Co., 1908. Pp. vii, 385.)

In this book originally prepared for delivery in the form of lectures at the University of Paris during the winter of 1906-07, Professor Coolidge has treated in an interesting way the chief problems of our internal and foreign policy. The nineteen chapters of the book divide naturally into two parts. The first nine deal with the development of the United States into a World Power and take up such questions as immigration, race questions, the Monroe Doctrine, the Spanish

War and the problems resulting from colonial expansion. In the discussion of these the author is somewhat optimistic and influenced by his sympathy for the white men of the South and of the Pacific Coast, but is clear and interesting. The second half of the book gives a brief discussion of the history and present status of the relations between the United States and France, Germany, Russia, England, Canada, Latin America, China and Japan. Particularly interesting are the chapters on our relations with Germany and with Japan. In all these the author gives a clear narrative of past and a suggestive interpretation of present conditions. As a whole the book is very readable and at the same time scholarly and fair. It should command the attention of a wide circle of readers.

PROGRAM OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

of the

MISSOURI SOCIETY

of

TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

to be held at the

University of Missouri,

Columbia,

SATURDAY, May 1, 1909.

Morning Session, Nine O'clock.

1. President's Address—"Setting the Problem."
   Discussion.
2. "How History can be Taught from a Sociological Point of View."
   C. A. Ellwood, University of Missouri. Columbia.
   Discussion.
3. "The People and Institutions of the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware." H. A. Trexler, Hardin College, Mexico.

Afternoon Session, Two O'clock.

1. Reports of Committees.
   (a) Committee on History in the High Schools.
   (b) Committee on History in the Elementary Schools.
2. Election of Officers.
3. General Business.

Persons not members of the Society will be cordially welcomed to the sessions.

Papers are to be limited to twenty-five minutes and discussions to five minutes for each speaker. All persons interested in the topics presented in the program are invited to participate in the discussion.

All sessions will be held in the lecture room of the Zoological Building.

Further information regarding the meeting of the Society may be had by addressing the President

VOL. III. July, 1909. NO. 4.

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MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 3. JULY, 1909. NO. 4.

SOME HISTORIC LINES IN MISSOURI.

(Second Paper Continued.)

Injustice to the Sacs and Foxes.

That the policy of our government towards the Sacs and Foxes was unjust, there can be no doubt, and that the claim of those Indians to the territory North of the Missouri was, in 1804, superior to that of the Osages or any other tribes, there can also be no doubt. This claim was distinctly recognized by the treaty of November 3, 1804. That treaty designated a "line between the lands of the United States and of the said tribes," (the Sacs and Foxes) and that line began on the Missouri river opposite the mouth of the Gasconade, and ran northwestwardly to the Jeffreon, and then down that river to the Mississippi, and the Government solemnly agreed to protect these tribes against the encroachments of its own citizens and others upon their lands, and to remove any intruders found thereon upon complaint of the Indians.

Governor Lewis, in 1808, recognized that the Boone's Lick country was far advanced into the Indian country in ordering Col. Cooper to retire below the mouth of the Gasconade, and Governor Howard, in defining the boundaries of

St. Charles, October 1, 1812, also recognized the fact that the Indian title to the lands, west and north of the Sac and Fox lines of 1804, had not been extinguished.

The General Assembly of the Territory, elected November, 1812, on the 31st day of December, 1813, five years after the Osage treaty, also recognized the Indian title to the lands west and north of the Sac and Fox lines of 1804, by making St. Charles County cover the Sac and Fox cession only, and by directing the Governor to annex to that county, for governmental purposes, any lands north and west of it, whenever the Indian title thereto should be extinguished. I wish for you to note the fact here that Governor William Clark, who had succeeded Howard as Governor, approved this act of the Territorial Legislature.

After the close of the war of 1812-1815, many immigrants found their way to the Boone's Lick country, but the settlers there were outside the pale of civil government, and they became clamorous for the organization of this part of the Territory into a county. Another factor entered into the situation. As has been stated, orders were given in 1814 for plans for the survey of the lands west of the Mississippi, and the settlers in the Indian reservations were anxious to get titles to the lands on which they had squatted; but lands, to which the Indian title had not been extinguished, could be neither surveyed, sold, nor organized into a county. What was to be done? So far, no one had claimed that the Indian title to the lands thus occupied had been extinguished. But a large and influential population was seated there permanently, to all appearances, and a "condition and not a theory" confronted the Territorial and National officials, but it seems they were equal to the emergency. They bethought them of the Osage treaty, which ceded all the lands of the Osage tribes north of the Missouri. Why could not that treaty be made to extinguish the title of all Indians to the lands north of that river? And within two months after he heard of the treaty of peace at Ghent, Governor Clark issued the proclamation heretofore referred to, defining the

Osage Indian lines north of the river, denying the title of any other Indian to the lands there, and annexing a vast territory, extending from the mouth of the Kansas river, 140 miles north, and thence to the Des Moines river to St. Charles County for government purposes. That was March 9, 1815. This was the first official step taken to deprive the Sac and Fox Indians of their lands. The next step was the act of the Territorial Legislature of January 23, 1816, organizing the County of Howard.

So far so good. But the surveys of the public lands were then proceeding and it was demanded that the lands, west of the Sac and Fox Indian line of 1804, should be surveyed and sold. Now it was necessary for the Federal officials to take a hand, and they lost no time in doing it. William C. Rector ordered the surveys of the Osage Indian line north and south of the river. But Sullivan was not as grasping as Governor Clark, and he ran only one hundred miles north of the Missouri, and then east to the Des Moines, instead of one hundred and forty miles, as Clark did. When these surveys were made, it seemed the way was cleared to carry out all the wishes of the settlers in the Boone's Lick country, but the Indians still hovered along their borders, and to proceed without consulting them would seem to invite further hostilities. At this point the Government adopted a policy utterly indefensible in law and in morals. It had for twelve years recognized the title of the Sacs and Foxes to the territory west of the line of 1804, and instead of obtaining new sessions of all these lands from these Indians, and paying them for them, it proceeded to enter into the treaties of amity of 1815-1816 with these tribes, by which the treaty of November 3, 1804, was, in terms, ratified, and the strangest part of this strange tale is, Governor Clark, the author of the proclamation of March 9, 1815, was one of the commissioners of our Government in the making of these ratification treaties. So it appears that while the Territorial Legislature and the Government, and the Surveyor General of the United States, were denying the title of the Sac and Fox tribes to

the lands west of the line of 1804, the Government at Washington City, through Governor Clark, as one of its commissioners, was solemnly ratifying the treaty of November 3, 1804, which obligated it to protect these tribes in the enjoyment of these same lands. But, notwithstanding the treaties of amity and of ratification, the officers went right along in the survey of the lands east and west of the line of 1804, locating west of the Boone's Lick country, the 500,000 acres of Military Bounty Land, and throwing the same open to settlement and establishing a land office at Old Franklin for the sale of other lands, and where other lands were sold, the sales beginning November 2, 1818.

It is true, a feeble protest against appropriating these lands without consulting the Indians, came, November 29, 1818, from Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, who had control of the survey and sale of the public lands at that time, but this was soon silenced, for on the 3d day of March, 1819, a little over four months afterwards, Congress declared by statute that the right of preemption should exist in Howard County, Territory of Missouri, "any construction to the contrary notwithstanding."

The Government proceeded to survey and sell millions of acres of land west and north of the Sac and Fox boundary of 1804, and then finally obtained another cession from these Indians, covering all their lands in Missouri, by treaty made at Washington City, August 4, 1824, William Clark again acting for the United States. Thus, after ignoring their title for eight years, the Government by solemn treaty, acknowledged the validity of their title to the lands bounded by the Missouri on the south, by buying the title of them.

Why the Government pursued this devious course, I am utterly unable to understand. When we contemplate our policy towards these Indians, we are constrained to look with less austerity upon the free-and-easy way in which the French and Spaniards were accustomed to deal with questions of this sort. They claimed the land as belonging to them, not to the Indians, but when France ceded the country to

us, we recognized the possessory right of the savages to the land they occupied, or used as hunting grounds, and we obtained that right from them by treaties, but on the score of justice and morality, it may be questioned whether the arbitrary methods of France and Spain were not less objectionable than were the inconsistent methods to which our Government sometimes resorted.

Having shown that the United States recognized the title of the Sac and Fox Indians to the lands north of the Missouri, by no less than five treaties, extending over a period of twenty years, let us now inquire into the foundation of the claim of Governor Clark, in his proclamation of March 9, 1815, that "the pretensions of other nations of Indians to lands," lying within the limits of the Osage Purchase lines he had fixed, being of very recent date, were "utterly unsupported by those usages and that possession and prescription upon which the original inhabitants of this country have been accustomed to found their territorial claims," and that the Osage Treaty, of 1808, gave us the land north of the Missouri river.

In the first place, it may be remarked that the old maps I have seen, show the habitat of the Osage tribes to have been south of the Missouri river. Captain Pike, in his expedition in 1806, up the Osage river and to the west, reported that the Osages had originally dwelt upon the Osage river, but about a hundred years prior to the time of his visit to them, the Little Osages, by permission of the tribes, had settled on the Missouri river near where Malta Bend, south of that river, now is; but some years afterwards, finding themselves too hard-pressed by their enemies, they returned to the Osage river.

In the report of Lewis and Clark, of their expedition across the continent, we find it stated that in the summer of 1804, the Old Missouri Village on the north side of the Missouri, and the Osage Village on the south side, were deserted, and it is added in the report that Lewis and Clark's guides told them that the Sacs, about the year 1700, had

attacked the Missouris in this village (the village on the north side of the river), killing two hundred, and that they then fled across the river and located a village three miles above that of the Little Osages, where they remained till about 1774, when they were again attacked by the Sacs and other Indians, and reduced to a few families. And it is well known that Black Hawk, in the latter part of the eighteenth century made several incursions into the Osage country and drove the Little Osages and the Missouris from the Missouri river, and after the year 1800, an Osage Indian crossed the Missouri at the peril of his life. In view of these facts, how preposterous is the claim of Clark that the Osage title to the lands north of the Missouri was paramount, for that is the meaning of his proclamation, and that the pretensions of "other Indians" to these lands was recent, so recent that they had no valid title to them.

We cannot escape the conclusion that Governor Clark was hard-pressed for a pretext to appropriate the lands of the Indians, and this was the most plausible one presenting itself to him. And when he signed the three treaties of 1815-1816 confirming the title of the Sacs and Foxes, and signed the treaty of 1824, by the terms of which the United States bought from these same Indians the very lands to which he had in 1815 proclaimed they had no title, he must have realized how flimsy the pretext he adopted was, and how inconsistent and indefensible his course had been. His conduct illustrates the adage that "where there is a will there is a way." It is thought that no man in our country was a better friend of the Indians than Governor Clark, and this fact makes his course still stranger.

This indefensible conduct of our Government also illustrates, in a forcible way, how the inexorable logic of events controls human affairs. This was a contest between a superior race on one side, and an inferior race on the other, and step by step the inferior yielded to the superior.

I stated in my paper on the Missouri Compromise Line that probably the conflict between the whites and negroes

in our country could not be settled by statesmanship but would have to be ground out in the mills of time, in the suffering and tears of the people, and so we might here say that the Indian question was not wholly controlled by the statesmen of our country, who, as a rule, at all times desired to deal fairly and honestly with the Aborigines, but history teaches us that the people brought about conditions which even the statesmen of the country could not ignore. Why they did not, however, upon finding a large population seated on the Indian lands in violation of treaty stipulations and the laws of Congress, buy the lands of the Indians instead of re-affirming their right to them no less than four times, and preferred to violate their solemn treaties by the adoption of a flimsy pretext, is at this time wholly unexplainable.

What has become of the Sacs and Foxes and the Osages, the proud sons of the prairies of one hundred years ago, who claimed and had title to the whole of our imperial Missouri?

The Osages by the treaty of June 2, 1825, ceded the strip of land about twenty-three miles wide, between the Old Osage line and the west boundary of the State, and by subsequent treaties they were given a reservation in the Indian Territory, where they now dwell. In 1904, they numbered 1,895 souls, and their income at that time, from trust funds and other sources, was about fourteen dollars for each man, woman and child, per month, and besides, they had a large tract of land, the fairest in this Territory; but their tribal relations have now been sundered and their lands have been allotted to them in severalty, all of which, having lost the trusteeship of the Government, they will soon lose in their dealings with the whites.

The Sacs and Foxes.

The impartial historian of the future will, in strong terms, condemn our policy towards these tribes, and especially will he condemn our course in the Black Hawk War of 1831-1832. The history of that war, though some of our most illustrious men participated in it, will ever remain,

when calmly viewed, a very dark chapter in our national career. It is true Black Hawk crossed the Mississippi into Illinois in violation of his treaty stipulations, but having plainly violated no less than four treaties itself, the Government was in no position to charge Black Hawk with a violation of other treaties. Black Hawk could have very well retorted in the language of the poet: "The villainy you teach me I will execute, but I will better the instruction." But Black Hawk did not cross the Mississippi to make war, for he took his women and children along, which proves his statement to be true that he intended to visit a nation on the Illinois to raise a crop.

The blackest and most horrible part, however, of all our dealings with these tribes, was in firing twice upon flags of truce, during that war, once before the war had actually begun, and again, July 30, 1832, at Bad Axe, Wisconsin, where and when twenty-three Indians were killed, and only one American wounded.—shot in the leg. To read the official reports of the War of 1832, and of the slaughter of helpless men, women and children, is enough to make the blood run cold. The official report of the last slaughter, (it was not a battle) stated: "Little discrimination seems to have been made between those in arms and the rest of the tribe. After they had sought refuge in the waters of the Mississippi, and the women, with their children on their backs were buffeting the waves in an attempt to swim to the opposite shore, numbers of them were shot by our troops." But we will drop the curtain on this bloody and inexcusable tragedy in our history. Black Hawk was captured and was put on exhibition from Washington City through New England and back home, and the people made a hero of him wherever he went. In a few years he died.

Many treaties have been made with the Sacs and Foxes, led by Keokuk, the diplomat, and Black Hawk, the warrior, and at this writing they have almost disappeared. Only a remnant of them is left. A few are in Iowa, a few in

Nebraska, a few in Kansas, and the balance in the Indian Territory; probably 1,200 of these survive.

The Missouri-Iowa Line.

The first petition of citizens for a state Government for Missouri, prepared in 1817, prayed for a state bounded on the east by the Mississippi river; south by the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude; west by the Osage Purchase lines, north and south of the Missouri river, and north by a line running due west from the mouth of the Des Moines. The memorial of the Legislature of the Territory adopted November 21, 1818, asked for these boundaries for the State: Beginning on the Mississippi river at the line of 36 degrees north latitude; thence to the junction of Big Black and White rivers; up White river to the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and thence west to a point due south of the mouth of Wolf river; thence north through the mouth of that river to a point due west from the mouth of Rock river (in Illinois); thence east to the Mississippi river and down that river to the beginning. Wolf river empties into the Missouri in Kansas, opposite Section 1, Township 58, Range 38 west, and a north and south line through the mouth of that river would leave all of Atchison County, the most of Holt and a strip three miles wide off of Nodaway County to the west, and would include, south of the Missouri, one tier of Kansas Counties, and the north line prayed for by this memorial would have included, in Missouri, three tiers of Iowa Counties, east of the proposed west line. The northwest corner of the State thus proposed, would have been near the northwest corner of Cass County, Iowa, about sixty-five miles north of the present boundary of our State. The southern line, called for by the memorial, would have included eight entire and parts of five Counties of Arkansas. Congress compromised somewhat, giving Missouri two Counties south of 36 degrees 30 minutes, Pemiscot and Dunklin, and running far enough west on the latter line to be due south of the south end of the Old Osage Indian line, running north from

the mouth of the Kansas river. The west and north lines of the State, as defined by the Act of Congress of March 6, 1820, ran north on a meridian, passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river "to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line; thence east from the point of intersection last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the river Des Moines," thence down that river and the Mississippi to the place of beginning.

For a long time after the admission of the State into the Union, the largest portion of the territory lying north and west of us, remained, in a sense, derelict. In 1834, the territory north of our boundary was attached to the Territory of Michigan, and on April 20, 1836, (1) to the Territory of Wisconsin, the northern boundary of Missouri being made the southern boundary of the Wisconsin Territory, west of the Mississipppi. By this time, the settlers south and north of the Old Indian line had begun to jostle each other, and the Missouri officials and people concluded it was about time to have the northern line of the State definitely located, and on December 21, 1836, the Missouri Legislature passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint three commissioners to survey that line, in conjunction with commissioners to be appointed by the President and by the Governor of Wisconsin Territory. The Governor of Missouri (Lilburn W. Boggs) appointed as such commissioners, February 4, 1837, Col. Daniel M. Boone of Jackson County, Capt. Stephen Cooper of Howard County, and Elias Bancroft (2), but the President and the Governor of Wisconsin Territory failed

1. By Act Dec. 23, 1834, of the Missouri Legislature the Governor by and with the advice of the Senate was authorized to appoint two commissioners and one skillful surveyor to ascertain and locate the northern and southern lines of the state, but the northern line was not surveyed under this act.

2. It is here stated, Cooper was then of Howard county, but Governor Boggs stated he was of Lewis county, when he sent the names of the commissioners to the Senate.

to appoint commissioners. The Missouri commissioners appointed Joseph C. Brown of St. Louis to survey the line. They proceeded to examine the Des Moines river, to locate, if they could, "the rapids of the river Des Moines," called for in the act of March 6, 1820, and they determined upon a point near the Big Bend, 51 miles up the river by its meanders, from its mouth, at 40 degrees, 44 minutes 6 seconds north latitude, where they claimed they found rapids answering the call, and from that point they surveyed and marked a line to the Missouri river,—the Platte Purchase having at that time been added to Missouri, which extended her western boundary to that river.

December 21, 1836, the date of the act authorizing the appointment of three commissioners, may be taken as the beginning of the controversy over the northern boundary of the state, which did not end till January 3, 1851.

The above line was surveyed by Brown in July, August and September, 1837, and the commissioners made report which was approved by act of the Legislature of February 11, 1839.

April 12, 1838, the Territory of Iowa was formed, with the north line of Missouri as its southern line. June 18, 1838, Congress authorized the President to have this line surveyed, in conjunction with Commissioners from Missouri and Iowa. The President appointed Major Albert Miller Lea of Maryland to survey the line, but no commissioners were appointed by Missouri. Iowa appointed Dr. James Davis. Lea surveyed four lines, any one of which, he reported might be taken as that intended by the Act of March 6, 1820:

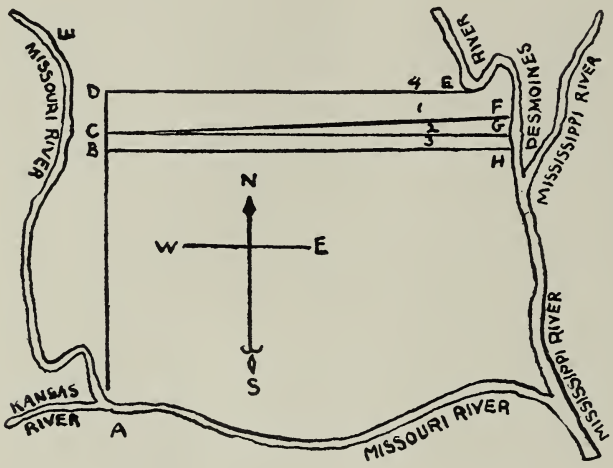
1. The Old Indian boundary line surveyed by Sullivan in 1816;

2. The parallel of latitude running due east and west through the northwest corner of the Osage cession fixed by Sullivan:

3. The parallel passing through the middle of the rapids of the river Des Moines in the Mississippi river, and

4. The line surveyed by Brown for Missouri in 1837.

Lea made his report to the Commissioner of the General Office, James Whitcomb, grandfather of James Whitcomb Riley, the poet.



A map of the lines surveyed by Maj. Lea is here given:

D. E.—Line claimed by Missouri.

C. F.—Old Indian Line.

C. G.—True meridian through northwest corner, fixed by Sullivan.

B. H.—Meridian through the Des Moines rapids in the Mississippi river, and the line claimed by Iowa before Supreme Court.

Dr. James Davis, on behalf of Iowa, reported the Old Indian line as the true one.

The belt of land between the lines surveyed and claimed by Missouri and Iowa, respectively, at this time, was eight miles, sixty-eight chains and twenty links (nearly nine miles) wide at the Des Moines river, and eleven miles at the west end.

August 23, 1839, Governor Lilburn W. Boggs of Missouri, issued a proclamation citing the Act of February 11, 1839, fixing the line at 40 degrees, 44 minutes and 6 seconds, and forbidding the exercise of jurisdiction south of that line by any one not acting by authority of this State, and di-

rected the militia officers, and their commanders, to hold themselves in readiness to aid the civil officers of the State in the discharge of their duties. Robert Lucas, Governor of Iowa, about the same time, also issued a proclamation, forbidding the exercise of jurisdiction by Missouri officials north of the Old Indian line, and authorizing the arrest and trial of all persons attempting to exercise official functions on the disputed strip, not sanctioned by the laws of Iowa Territory.

In 1839 the only settlement on the disputed strip was near the present town of Farmington, Van Buren County, (Iowa). In August 1839, Uriah S. Gregory, commonly called "Sandy," sheriff of Clark County, Missouri, went to the above settlement on the disputed strip, where a large crowd was raising a house, and demanded taxes from the settlers there, but they treated the demand with contempt and ordered "Sandy" to retire to his own State, which he lost no time in doing. He went to Waterloo in his county and reported the resistance he had met in the performance of his official duties. Governor Boggs at once issued another proclamation, urging all officers to stand firm and do their duty. November 30, 1839, Gregory made another effort to collect taxes from those living on this disputed land, and this time the sheriff (Sheffelman) of Van Buren County, Iowa, arrested him for usurpation of authority, took him first to Farmington, where there was a large and excited crowd, and from there to Muscatine, where he was imprisoned for a short time, but finally released on his own recognizance. This caused great excitement in both jurisdictions. The County Court of Clark County met at Waterloo and entered an order calling for the militia to aid the Sheriff in enforcing the laws. Pursuant to orders of Governor Boggs, Major General David Whillock called for 2,200 men of his Division (the 14th). December 7, 1839, Col. Chauncey Durkee's regiment of Lewis County was en route to the seat of war without tents, almost destitute of blankets, and only partially armed. At La Grange, some of his men broke into the store of

Charles S. Skinner, and took groceries, blankets and other supplies, worth hundreds of dollars. This was approved by General O. H. Allen, and Skinner was afterwards reimbursed by the State, at least partially, for his losses. The Lewis County regiment and a Clark County battallion went into camp on Fox river, near Waterloo, where a force from Knox County joined them, raising the total number in camp to about 600. The snow was deep and the weather was very cold. In the meantime Governor Lucas of Iowa had called the militia out, 1,200 strong, and proposed to take command in person, but he probably did not do so. Among his captains was George W. Grimes, who afterwards became United States Senator from Iowa. At a public meeting at Farmington, it was resolved to act on the defensive and "not aggress or be aggressed on." Mass meetings were also held in Clark, Lewis and Marion Counties, Missouri, which passed resolutions urging the enforcement of the laws in the disputed strip. The situation was becoming alarming, and it was not long till the councils of cooler heads began to dominate public opinion on both sides. General J. B. Brown led the Iowa forces. Before proceeding to hostilities, however, he appointed A. C. Dodge of Burlington, General Chairman of Dubuque, and Dr. Clark of Fort Madison, a committee to negotiate for peace. Col. McDaniels and Dr. Wayland were appointed for the same purpose on the part of Missouri. The Missouri officials determined to send a militia force with the Sheriff of Clark County to collect taxes on the disputed territory. December 2, 1839, the County Court of that County made an order that Col. John Dedham, of the 76th Regiment of Missouri Militia, detail so many men as he might deem necessary for that purpose, but December 4th, that same Court took steps for peace. It appointed a committee to visit the Iowa Legislature to see if an amicable solution might not be reached. This committee went to Burlington and interviewed the Governor, and the Legislature then in session, and the latter appointed a committee to negotiate peace terms if possible. This committee and the Clark County committee

returned to Waterloo, and the Iowa committee on December 12, presented to the County Court of Clark County, resolutions proposing to refer the controversy to Congress. It is reported than Thomas L. Anderson, in a speech to the court, urging the acceptance of these terms, portrayed the horrors of war and the blessings of peace in such stirring and eloquent language, that he caused his auditors to weep. The court made an order accepting the proposed terms. But, after all, it seems no **modus vivendi** was adopted, for we shall see that the friction between the officers and the people along the border continued for seven or eight years afterwards. It may be added that there is little doubt all the peace committees above mentioned participated in the efforts to bring about an amicable settlement of the controversy.

After the truce at Waterloo, December 12, the troops were ordered home, but General Allen and Col. Durkee wanted to fight, and their command held a meeting at the Pemberton Hotel at Monticello, and passed resolutions condemning everybody who had been instrumental in bringing about peace. And the Marion County troops ended the matter by some contemptuous resolutions against the two governors, who, they claimed, had unnecessarily caused the trouble. A ham of venison was cut in two, one labelled "Gov. Lucas of Iowa," and the other "Gov. Boggs of Missouri,"—they hung these up, fired into them with rifles, then took them down and buried them with funeral solemnity and with the honors of war. They then passed these resolutions:

"Resolved, That as this is the third winter in succession the troops have been ordered from Marion County and had to furnish their own tents and blankets; Therefore, we, who have them now, will keep them for the war next winter, as our notice has hitherto been so short.

"Resolved, That the Governor be requested to furnish us with guns by next winter."

On their way home, they wore their coats wrong side out. Another regiment from Marion County burnt fences and played cards, and the next Grand Jury indicted one

hundred of them for gambling. They also marched home with coats wrong side out.

There were probably eight hundred militiamen who responded to Governor Boggs' call, and the war cost Missouri $20,000.00, $19,000.00 for troops and $1,000.00 for contingent expenses, all of which the State had to borrow by issuing bonds.

It seems Franklin Lovering, Sheriff of Clark County, got into trouble also in his effort to enforce the law in the disputed territory, for in 1845, the Legislature of Missouri appropriated $351.56 to reimburse him for damages and costs he had sustained in suits brought against him by Iowans, whom he had arrested in December, 1839, at St. Francisville.

Governor Reynolds appointed Luke W. Lawless of St. Louis, under the act of the Missouri Legislature of February 16, 1841, to prosecute those who had resisted Gregory in his attempt to collect taxes on the disputed strip for the purpose of bringing the boundary question before the courts, but Lawless held that such a prosecution would not raise that question and advised that no suit be brought. His advice was taken and there that plan ended.

For his services the State paid Lawless $200.00, but he was not satisfied and demanded a larger sum, but that was all he received.

Congress, March 3, 1839, appropriated $969.05 to pay Major Lea for surveying the disputed lines. In 1839-1840, the President, on four several occasions, sent documents in regard to this dispute to Congress, and from 1840 to 1845, the Missouri Legislature passed two statutes to have the line surveyed by joint commissioners, representing Missouri, Iowa and the General Government, but they were all fruitless of results. During the same period, Missouri and Iowa sent numerous memorials to Congress, asking for the settlement of the controversy. Iowa being a Territory, could do nothing without the consent of Congress, and it seems it was conceded Congress, even, had no power to impair the vested right of

Missouri to any territory included in the boundary fixed by the Act of March 6, 1820. It is true it was agreed to refer the question to Congress, but when Congress undertook the job, which it delayed five years, its plan of settlement was rejected by our State. Congress, by Act June 17, 1844, provided for the location and survey of the line by one commissioner to be appointed by the President, one by Missouri and one to be selected by these two, but it provided that this Act should not be enforced without the consent of Missouri. The Legislature passed a bill accepting this proposition, but Governor Edwards vetoed it January 3, 1845, on the ground that as by the Act of Congress a majority of these commissioners might fix the line, Missouri might lose the strip of land she claimed north of the Old Indian line over the vote and objections of her own commissioner. The Governor went on to say that Missouri's claim to the disputed territory was unquestionably valid and he would never consent to surrender it by any sort of compromise. This ended the efforts of Congress to settle the contest.

Preston Mulnix, Sheriff of Adair County, Missouri, was indicted in Iowa for usurpation of office, and March 28, 1845, the Legislature appropriated $500.00 to defend him, but before the case was tried, the Governor of Iowa pardoned him. Governor John C. Edwards in his message to the Legislature, November 16, 1846, reported these facts in regard to Mulnix and added that great excitement had prevailed along the northern border, but amicable relations had been restored, between the officials of both sides. Jonathan Riggs, Sheriff of Schuyler County, Missouri, had been indicted in Davis County, Iowa, and the Sheriff of Davis County, Iowa, had been indicted in Schuyler County, Missouri, for usurpation of office, and Carty Wells and James S. Green were appointed to prosecute the Iowa officer and defend the Missouri Sheriff, February, 1846, and January 11, 1847, these attorneys reported that the cases had been continued by consent. A Senate committee, in 1847, made a report through its chairman, Thomas B. English, that Jonathan Riggs had

been appointed Sheriff of Schuyler County because he was a firm and resolute man, and he had been arrested by the Sheriff of Van Buren County, Iowa, and imprisoned twenty-one days, and the committee recommended an appropriation to indemnify him for this, and added that there was then great excitement along the border.

Missouri, by Act of March 25, 1845, and Iowa by Act of January 17, 1846, consented to submit the question of boundary to the Supreme Court of the United States, and by Act of August 4, 1846, Congress conferred power on that court to determine where the northern line of Missouri, as fixed by the Act of March 6, 1820, was.

The suit was delayed on account of Iowa not being admitted into the Union. Her admission as a state was authorized by the Act of March 3, 1845, but her people refused to come in because her western boundary was not extended to the Missouri, and by Act of December 28, 1846, Congress complied with their wishes by so extending the border, and Iowa was admitted into the Union.

The way was now clear to have the Supreme Court settle the question, and accordingly, Missouri, in pursuance of the Act of her Legislature of February 13, 1847, filed her bill in that court to establish the line surveyed by Brown in 1837, which she claimed was the true northern boundary of the state.

Hamilton R. Gamble and James S. Green appeared as attorneys for Missouri, and Ewing & Mason for Iowa.

Missouri insisted that the call for "the rapids of the river Des Moines" was a controlling one, and that the words "making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line" did not apply to the north line at all, but applied only to the west line, and even to that line only to its northern terminus, and that the west line of the State should be continued north "to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines," which, it claimed, were found at the Great Bend where Brown commenced his survey.

Iowa, in the earlier stages of the contest, claimed only to the Old Indian Line, but when she came to defend this case, she abandoned that line and concurred with Missouri that the call for a parallel of latitude passing through "the rapids of the river Des Moines" as the northern boundary of Missouri, should control, but denied that the rapids selected by the commissioner of that State at 40 degrees, 44 minutes, 6 seconds, were, in any sense, rapids, but were riffles only, and hence did not answer the call, and claimed that the rapids in the Mississippi river, commencing about three miles above the mouth of the Des Moines river and extending up the river about fourteen miles, and well known among the French as "Les rapides de la riviere des Moines," and among the Americans as "The rapids of the river Des Moines," were meant and that the north boundary of Missouri should be fixed on a parallel of latitude running through the center of these rapids.

These contentions of the two States before the Supreme Court, put in issue a belt of land about seventeen miles wide, the Iowa contention being for a line six miles south of the Old Indian line, at the west end, and over eight at the east end, and that of Missouri being for a line eleven miles north of the Old Indian line, at the west end, and over eight at the east end. The map heretofore given shows the lines claimed by the two States.

Depositions were taken by both sides to prove their respective contentions. The Court decided the case February 13, 1849. The Court found that in the Des Moines river there was a fall at Farmington, thirty-four miles from its mouth, of 2.27 feet in ninety rods, while at the Great Bend, fifty-one miles from its mouth, where Brown commenced his survey of the line for Missouri, the fall was only 1.75 feet in eighty rods; at 55 miles a fall of 1.75 feet in 80 rods, and at 93 miles a fall of 2.10 feet in 80 rods; and held that none of these constituted "the rapids of the river Des Moines" within the meaning of the call of the Act of March 6, 1820, and as there were no rapids in the river Des Moines, answer-

ing the call, that call would have to be disregarded. The Court then held that the contention of Iowa that the rapids in the Mississippi were the rapids meant in the call, was untenable, and decided that the words "making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line." required the west line of the State to coincide with the "Indian boundary line," not only in its beginning and course, but also in its terminus, and that being the case, the northern line of the State should run from the northern terminus of the Indian line, and the decree of the court was that the line run by Sullivan in 1816, known as "The Old Indian Line," was the true boundary line between Missouri and Iowa.

After a careful study of the case, the following conclusions, to my mind, seem incontrovertible:

1. The contentions of both States that the call for "the rapids of the river Des Moines" in the location of the line, should have been sustained. It seems clear than Congress did not intend that the northern line of the State should correspond to the Old Indian Line, for if that had been its intention it would have so declared in express terms, as it actually did in regard to the west line;

2. The contention of Missouri that the slight fall in the river 40 degrees, 44 minutes and 6 seconds north latitude caused rapids answering the call, is utterly untenable;

3. The contention of Iowa that the rapids in the Mississippi, known in early times as the rapids of "the river Des Moines," ought to have prevailed. These rapids are the only ones in that vicinity which can in any sense be said to answer the call, and it seems most certain that these were meant.

The decree has the appearance of a compromise, by which the disputed territory was about equally divided between the two States. The Court found justification for the adoption of "the Old Indian Line" in the fact that Missouri, by its legislative acts had recognized that line up to 1836 as the true line;—that Congress at all times, in the organization of Wisconsin and Iowa Territories, and in the surveys of the public lands, and the Executive Department, in no less than

fifteen Indian treaties, made after the admission of Missouri into the Union as a State, had recognized that line as the northern boundary of Missouri. The Court appointed Joseph C. Brown of Missouri, and Henry B. Hendershot of Iowa, commissioners to survey and mark the line described in the decree. The Court ordered the commissioners to place at the northwest corner of the survey made by Sullivan in 1816, an iron pillar, four feet six inches high and to square one foot at the base and eight inches at the top, with "Missouri" cast in the pillar on the south side, the word "Iowa" on the north side, and the word "boundary" on the east side, and to place similar pillars at the then northwest corner of the State on the bank of the Missouri and at the northeast corner on the bank of the Des Moines. The Court also ordered the commissioners to set other pillars, either iron or stone, of such dimensions and kind as they might select, at intervals of every ten miles. Brown died, and Chief Justice Taney appointed, April 6, 1849, Robert W. Wells in his stead. Wells and Hendershot did some work and then Wells resigned, and Wm. G. Minor was by the Court at its December term, 1849, appointed to fill the vacancy. William Dewey of Iowa and Robert Walker of Missouri, were appointed by the commissioners to make the survey. Hendershot and Wells reported at the December term, 1849, that they had procured the three iron pillars above mentioned, and nineteen other pillars, all of cast iron. Six of the other nineteen pillars were four feet long and squared at the base eight inches and at the top five inches, to be set thirty miles apart, and the other thirteen were four feet long and squared seven inches at the base and four inches at the top. The nineteen pillars had "Missouri" on the south side, "Iowa" on the north side, and "Boundary" on the other two sides. The inscriptions on all the pillars were strongly cast in the metal. The thirteen pillars were to be placed ten miles from the other pillars or from each other.

The commissioners, Hendershot and Minor, reported December —, 1850, that after consulting Major M. L. Clark,

Surveyor General for Illinois and Missouri, they started, April 10, 1850, to go to the Old Northwest Corner of Missouri, the corner made by Sullivan, to begin work, but when they got there, they found the prices of transportation and provisions had so advanced on account of the immense emigration to California through Southern Iowa and Northern Missouri, that they altered their plans and reduced their force. To haul the pillars and baggage they had to make roads and bridges and grade down banks in places. The three large monuments weighed between 1,500 and 1,600 pounds, each, and the others between 300 and 400 pounds, each. Dewey and Walker, the surveyors, made report to the commissioners from Keokuk, Iowa, September 30, 1850. They say they met near the Old Northwest Corner, April 28, 1850, and by May 24th, they had fixed that corner at 40 degrees 34 minutes 4 seconds north latitude, and 94 degrees and 30 minutes west longitude. They then surveyed the line to the Missouri river, setting up the monuments. They returned and commenced the survey from the Old Northwest Corner, east, August 13, 1850, and finished it September 18, 1850. The line east from the Old Northwest Corner, they reported, was not on the meridian of 40 degrees 34 minutes 4 seconds, nor straight. The line surveyed by Sullivan constantly veered to the north, but it was not at all points, run on the same variation of the needle. At the east end, on the Des Moines, they found the Old Indian Line was 2.75 miles north of the starting point at the Old Northwest Corner. Because the line was not straight, the surveyors set wooden posts at the end of each mile, between the iron posts.

The whole cost of instruments, transportation, freight, surveyors and commissioners' charges was $10,880.41. The Court, on January 3, 1851, approved the report of the commissioners and fixed the line as they reported it and ordered each State to pay one-half of the costs, which was done, and thus ended this memorable contest, which had lasted from December 21, 1836, to January 3, 1851, a period of over fourteen years.

The lesson the history of this line teaches us is, that a spark may kindle a great conflagration, and that wars can grow out of very trivial matters. It is evident that if Missouri and Iowa had not had a power higher than either to appeal to, a disastrous war would have been the result, which emphasizes the importance of our Union of States under one general government.

One word in regard to the comical features of this controversy: Besides the farcical conduct and proceedings of the militia after the war was over, already given, there was another episode that was made the basis of ridicule and amusement. Early in the contest, a Missourian cut some bee trees on the disputed strip, and being sued for this in an Iowa court, judgment went against him for one dollar and fifty cents for damages and costs, and the "Palmyra" Whig of December 26, 1839, published the following poem by John I. Campbell, a local satirist:

"THE HONEY WAR."

Tune: Yankee Doodle.

Ye freemen of the happy land,
Which flows with milk and honey,
Arise! To Arms! Your ponies mount,
Regard not blood or money.
Old Governor Lucas, tiger-like,
Is prowling round our borders,
But Governor Boggs is wide awake,
Just listen to his orders:
Three bee-trees stand about the line,
Between our State and Lucas,
Be ready, all those trees to fell,
And bring things to a focus.
We'll show old Lucas how to brag,
And seize our precious honey;
He also claims, I understand,
Of us three bits of money.
Conventions, boys, now let us hold,
Our honey trade demands it;
Likewise, the three bits, all in gold,
We all must understand it.

Why shed our brothers' blood in haste,
Because big men require it;
Be not in haste our blood to waste,
No prudent men desire it.
Now if the Governors want to fight,
Just let them meet in person,
And when noble Boggs old Lucas flogs,
'Twill teach the scamp a lesson.
Then let the victor cut the trees,
And have three bits in money,
And wear a crown from town to town,
Annointed with pure honey.
And then no widows will be made,
No orphans unprotected;
Old Lucas will be nicely flogged,
And from our line ejected
Our honey trade will then be laid
Upon a solid basis;
And Governor Boggs,
Where'er he jogs,
Will meet with smiling faces.

I have given you the story of five historic lines of Missouri: The Missouri Compromise Line, the Sac and Fox Indian Line of 1804, the Osage Indian Line of 1808, the Fifth Principal Meridian, and the Missouri-Iowa Line, only two of which survive. The Missouri Compromise Line was wiped out in the blood of the nation, the Sac and Fox and the Osage Indian Lines have vanished from the maps through the operation of the pitiless law of "the survival of the fittest;" the Fifth Principal Meridian and the line between Iowa and Missouri, remain, and will probably continue forever. And the strongest feature, connected with the survival of these lines, is, one of them, the Missouri-Iowa line rests on the survey of a myth, the Osage Indian possession north of the Missouri river, which were as unsubstantial as "the baseless fabric of the vision," and yet, there it stands, marked by iron pillars for the ages to come, and that, too, by the order of the highest court in the land. Of all these lines, however, the most important, whether we consider the past or the future, is the Fifth Principal Meridian. It has been named millions of times in legislative acts and instruments affecting land titles recorded in the counties of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and the two Dakotas, and will be, in the time to come, named and recorded billions of times more.

JOHN L. THOMAS.

"MISSOURI'S ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS."

Prefatory.

When the French and English established their first permanent settlements in America, they found the whole country in the possession of numerous aboriginal tribes, the members of which were unlike any they had ever known. Many have been the theories advanced as to who these people were and whence they came. Many books have been written in vindication of the different theories of the writers, and in some cases by men of learning and ability, but modern investigations by eminent ethnologists have shown that the theories held by these writers were in the main erroneous. The most recent theories advanced, and perhaps the most plausible, is that by Ridpath, the historian. In his chart showing the distribution of mankind, he gives the North American Indians the name of Mongoliads, and makes them a branch of the North Asiatic family.

Not long since I wrote Mr. Holmes, Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington City, giving him Mr. Ridpath's classification, and asked him if it would be safe to accept his theory as the correct one. In reply he said: "It is generally conceded that the American Indians are of Asiatic origin, but as they are so widely differentiated from any known Asiatic people it would be perhaps inappropriate to speak of them as Mongolians. They have been separated so long from their Asiatic kindred that they are properly classed as a separate race."

To the first white settlers the variety of languages and dialects appeared to be well nigh infinite, but on acquaintance it was discovered that these dialects were easily reducible to a few primary stocks. (1) Ethnologists have grouped the

1. The Siouan tribes of the East by James Moony, Washington, Government Printing office, 1898, page 5. See also pages 9 and 10.

numerous tribes into fifty-six linguistic stocks or families, and these again into more than two thousand tribes or affiliations and have also determined the original location of the various families in America.

In the paper which follows we shall speak only of the families represented by the tribes found at some time in the past to have lived within the territory now included in the State of Missouri.

Miami. Synonyms: Meames, Memis, Mawmee and eighty-four others.

The earliest account we have of this tribe places them on Green Bay, Wisconsin. Like other tribes they gradually traveled in a southern direction, finally reaching the valley of the Wabash in Indiana and the Northwest, where they made their final stop. Little Turtle, their famous chief, said: "My fathers kindled the first fire at Detroit, thence they extended their line to the headwaters of the Scioto, thence to its mouth, thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash and thence to Chicago and Lake Michigan. In 1815 the whites found them in possession of a tract of land on the Missouri river in Saline county." After the defeat of the Indian Confederation by General Wayne in 1793, it seems this band came west and located in Missouri. Their fort and village stood near the present town of Miami, which derives its name from them. We do not know the number that came, but it is said that there were almost three hundred warriors. If so, the whole number of souls was not far from fifteen hundred. Soon after the settlement of Saline County by the whites the Miamis left, but to what place they went we have no information. They frequently returned to Missouri to hunt, but so far as we can learn they were always entirely peaceable and committed no depredations of any kind, a record very different from that of Sacs and Foxes and Iowas. (See History of Saline County, St. Louis, 1881, page 158.)

Kickapoo. Synonyms: Kicapoos, Kicapoux, Kichapacs and fifty-six others.

This tribe first appears in history in 1667-70. They were then in Wisconsin. We have no traditions of their former home or previous wanderings. The Kickapoo we find had a village in Missouri in 1805, just above the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi river. Their stay in Missouri at that time was probably of a transcient character and did not last long. In 1819 they made a treaty with the United States at St. Louis, by the terms of which they were to receive a tract of land in Southwest Missouri. The tract as selected was about fifty miles wide from east to west and sixty-five miles long from north to south. The county seats, Hermitage, Bolivar, Stockton, Greenfield and Osceola are within this territory. In 1832 the Kickapoos ceded back to the United States the above tract of land and in consideration thereof received a tract in Kansas of 1,200 square miles not far above Fort Leavenworth.

In claiming as we do that the Indian is the aboriginal inhabitant, it is understood that we reject the theory held by many of a prehistoric people generally called Mound Builders. There were mound builders, but they were not a distinct people, as we think, and were but different tribes of American Indians. It has also been established that these mound building Indians differed in their work, as they did in other regards. In my letter to Mr. Holmes, referred to above, I asked him whether the mounds in Missouri belonged to the Ohio system or to a separate system. We give his reply:

"The Missouri mounds certainly do not belong to the same tribe or group of tribes as those of Ohio. The art remains found in the two sections differ as decidedly as do the art relics of distinct tribes, and it is probable that the Missouri mound builders spoke a different language from the mound builders of Ohio. It is understood that there were a large number of mound building tribes, and that these tribes are now represented by the different tribes of the Mississippi valley."

But the scope of this paper will not permit of further discussion of this subject.

When the Louisiana Territory came into possession of the United States in 1803, there were living within the present bounds of the State of Missouri the following Indian tribes:

Of the Siouan family or stocks, the Osage and Kansa; of the Eastern Siouan branch, the Iowa and Missouri; of the Northwestern Siouan branch, the Omaha, Ponca and Oto. The last three had at one time resided in Missouri, but had long ago removed to other localities. Of the Algonquin family there were the Delaware, Shawnee, Sauk and Fox and Miami. The Kickapoo came in later. It is of the above tribes we propose to treat in this paper.

Siouan Tribes.—Historical. (2)

Osages. (Corruption by French traders for Was-haz-he, their own name), with about sixty synonyms. The Osages are the most important southern Siouan tribe of the eastern division. Dorsey (3) classed them under the name of Dhegiha (4), in one group with the Omaha, Ponca, Kansa and Quapaw, with which they are supposed to have originally constituted a single body, living along the lower course of the Ohio river. Geographically speaking, the tribe consists of three bands: The Pahatsi or Great Osage, Utsehta or Little Osage, and Santsukhdhi or Arkansas band. (5)

2. According to the Linguistic map Missouri published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, the territory occupied in pre-historic times by the Osage and allied tribes and other tribes of the Siouan family or stocks lay in Virginia and North Carolina and extended from the Atlantic coast west almost or quite to the east line of Tennessee. From this habitat they were expelled at a very early day by the Iroquois and other tribes. Going west, they crossed the mountains and followed down the New river and Big Sandy to the Ohio River.

The Siouan tribes by Moony, etc.,page 11 as above.

3. "Dorsey"—Rev. J. O. Dorsey was an Episcopal clergyman and was a missionary to the Indians for a number of years. He acquired a good knowledge of the Siouan language.

4. Dhegiha, means literally, a group. This group consisted of the tribes here named.

5. Hand Book of American Indians by F. W. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., 1907. This work is in the

Many years ago Major Sibley obtained a statement from an aged chief of the Osages, who said that the tradition had been steadily handed down from their ancestors that the Osage had originally emigrated from the east, because the population had become too numerous for their hunting grounds. He described the forks of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, where he said they had dwealt some time, and where large bands had separated from them, and distributed themselves throughout the surrounding country. Those who did not remain in the region of the Ohio followed its waters until they reached the mouth, and then ascended to the mouth of the Missouri, where other separations took place, some going northward up the Mississippi, others advancing up the waters of the Missouri.

According to Dorsey, one tribe, Kwapa, when they reached the mouth of the Ohio river, separated from the others going down the Mississippi, while the others advanced up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, making a protracted stay in the vicinity of St. Louis. From this habitat the Omaha and Ponkas proceeded north as far as Minnesota, then turned west and halted near the big Sioux river. The Osages and Kansa followed up the Missouri river to the mouth of the Osage. There the final separation took place, the Osages going up the Osage river, and the Kansas proceeding up the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas river. (6) The first historical notice of the Osage appears to be on Marquette's autograph map of 1673, which locates them apparently on Osage river, and there they are placed by all subsequent writers until their removal westward in the nineteenth century.

How long they had been on Missouri territory at that time (1673) we do not know, but probably for many years.

form of a dictionary. I have made free use of it in the examination of each tribe. It will not be necessary for me to refer to it again as the reader can easily verify any statement here made by reference to the Hand Book under the name of the tribe being discussed.

6. Omaha Sociology by Rev. J. O. Dorsey, Washington, D. C., 1884. Map opposite page 212.

What tribes had preceded them we do not know. That other tribes had resided on the banks of our great rivers is evident from mounds which they erected and are yet to be seen. But when or whence they came, how long they remained, and whither they went are questions that will probably never be properly answered. The Osages laid claim to all the territory in Missouri south of the Missouri river and west of the Mississippi river; to Northern Arkansas and all of Kansas south of the Kansas river, and extending as far west as the sources of the streams flowing easterly, and in the different treaties made with them the United States Government recognizes the justness of their claim.

It is said of the Osages that they were a powerful tribe and of the few who never gave the whites any trouble. Physically the Osage is a powerful man, slightly above medium height. Washington Irving in 1832 in his book "The Tour of the Prairies," says: "The Osages are the finest looking Indians I have seen in the West."

Treaties Affecting Missouri. (7)

As far back as the year 1804, November 3, we find the Sac (Sauk) and Fox tribes were in a bloody war with the Great and Little Osages in the country along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and a treaty was made with the former tribes at St. Louis, binding the tribes to cease their wars and come under the protection of the United States, and make a firm and lasting treaty between themselves and the Osages, under the Indian Commissioner, William Henry Harrison, then Governor of the Indian Territory and of the Louisiana district, and superintendent of Indian affairs and plenipotentiary of the United States to make any treaties found to be necessary with the Osages.

7. Our information concerning all treaties discussed in this paper has been derived from "Land Grant Cessions in the United States," compiled by C. O. Royce, being part 2 of the annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, Government Printing office, 1899. For verification we refer to this work. It is not necessary to refer in each case to the page.

The chiefs of the Big and Little Osage tribes met in friendly treaty of release made at Fort Clark, (8) Nov. 10, 1808, by Peter Choteau, agent of the Osages and the chiefs and warriors of the latter, and a large extent of territory was ceded to the United States east of a boundary line running from Fort Clark directly south to the Arkansas river, said line being parallel to and twenty-four or twenty-five miles east of the west line of Missouri as afterwards established in 1816, and down the said Arkansas river to the Mississippi for a consideration of $800 cash, and $1,000 in merchandise to the Great Osages, and $400 cash, and $500 in merchandise to the Little Osages.

In the treaty of June 2, 1825, all their right, title and claims to all land in Missouri and Territory of Arkansas, and westward as far as a line drawn from the head sources of the Kansas river southwardly through rock Saline, and all south of Kansas river, except a strip of fifty miles beginning twenty-five miles west of the Missouri State line, at a point called White Hairs Village, and extending to the said west line of this treaty concession; the United States reserving the right to navigate all navigable streams in that reservation, and in consideration of these consessions paid the Osages $7,000, yearly for twenty years (from the date of treaty), at their village, or at St. Louis, at their option, in money, merchandise, provisions or domestic animals, as they might elect, at first cost of goods at St. Louis, and free transportation, etc., and many provisions for the tribes in the efforts to farm; and reservations of one section each to all the half-bloods, whose names are mentioned.

Soon after the conclusion of the above treaty the Osages were moved to their diminished reserve in Kansas and all connection with Missouri ceased.

8. Fort Clark—Captain William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and later territorial governor of Missouri, arrived Sept. 4, 1808, with a detachment of Missouri militia, and established a fort and government trading post on the Missouri river where Sibley is now located, and about thirty miles east of Kansas City. The stronghold was first called Fort Clark, in honor of its founder, but about 1810 the name was changed to Fort Osage.

Kansa. Synonyms: Kansas, Kanzas, Kaw and sixty-six others.

Handbook of American Indians, Part I, page 653. See note 5.

The Kansa, or as now popularly known as Kaw or Kansas tribe, is one of the five, according to Dorsey's arrangement of the Dhegiha group. Their linguistic relations are closest with the Osage and are close with the Quapaw. In the traditional migration of the group, after the Quapaw had first separated therefrom, the main body divided at the mouth of Osage river, the Osage moving up that stream and the Omaha and Ponca crossing the Missouri river and proceeding northward, while the Kansa ascended the Missouri on the south side to the mouth of Kansas river. Here a brief halt was made, after which they ascended the Missouri on the south side until they reached the present north boundary of Kansas, where they were attacked by the Cheyenne, and compelled to retrace their steps. They settled again at the mouth of the Kansas river, where the big knives, as they called the whites, came with gifts and induced them to go farther west.

According to the above there were two periods when the Kaws resided at the mouth of the Kansas river. The dates of these sojourns can not now be ascertained, but it seems quite certain that they must have reached the mouth of the Kansas river at first, not later than the middle of the sixteenth century and possibly earlier. The first treaty of which we have any record was one of peace and friendship made October 28, 1815.

By the treaty of June 2, 1825, they ceded to the United States their lands in North Kansas and Southern Nebraska, and relinquished all claims they might have to lands in Missouri, but reserving for their use a tract on Kansas river. They claimed a body of land in the northwest corner of the State of Missouri bounded as follows: Beginning at a point on the Missouri river opposite the northeast corner of the State of Kansas, run northeasterly to northeast corner of

Nodaway County, thence due west to Missouri river, thence down the Missouri river to place of beginning including parts of Holt and Nodaway Counties, and nearly all of Atchison County; but this claim was not recognized so far as we can ascertain. Beginning with the year 1833, when the Methodists established a mission among them, efforts were made for many years, first by the Methodists and later by the Quakers, to christianize and civilize them, but all efforts seem to have accomplished little or no good. They still adhere to their ancient faith and customs. In 1873 they were removed to the Indian Territory and located next to the Osages. The population diminished from seventeen hundred in 1850 to two hundred and nine in 1905, of whom only ninety were full bloods. Only a few more suns and the last full blood Kansa will have journeyed to the happy hunting ground.

Iowa (Sleepy Ones.) Synonyms: Ioway, Iowai, Iowas and one hundred and eight others.

One of the tribes included by J. O. Dorsey with the Oto and Missouri in his Chiwere group. (9) Traditional linguistic evidence proves that the Iowa sprang from the Winnebago stem, which appears to have been the mother stock of some other of the Southwestern Siouan tribes; but the closest affinity of the Iowa is with the Oto and Missouri, the difference in language being merely dialect. Iowa chiefs informed Dorsey in 1883 that their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha and Ponca "once formed part of the Winnebago nation." According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their home north of the Great Lakes. In their meanderings the tribes became separated. Finally the Iowa reached the headwaters of Little Platte river, Missouri. Thence they journeyed to the Mississippi river near the mouth of the Des Moines river,

9. The Platte Purchase, the title we use for the triangular body of land including Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Nodaway, Holt and Atchison counties. Until the treaty of 1836 this body of land was not included in the state of Missouri. The original east line of the state crossed the Missouri river at the mouth of the Kaw river, extending due north to the northwest corner of Worth county.

and after various journeyings they finally reached Missouri territory, first stopping on Salt river, thence to the Chariton river, next to Grand river, and then to the Missouri river opposite Fort Leavenworth. How long they remained there we do not know, but as their territory included nearly all of that part of Missouri north of the Missouri river, beside a large part of what is now the State of Iowa, it is not probable they remained very long in any one locality. The population was estimated in 1760 at eleven hundred souls, in 1804 at eight hundred, smallpox having carried off many of them, and but eighty-nine in 1905. Thus one of the strongest tribes that ever lived in this territory is soon to be numbered with the extinct tribes.

Treaty.

In the treaty of August 4th, 1823, the Iowas ceded and quitclaimed all territory situate between the Platte purchase and the Mississippi river and north of the Missouri river. No compensation is mentioned. The Iowas claimed all the land lying north of the Missouri river except a tract on the west side of the Mississippi river belonging to the Sacs and Foxes. See boundary as given under their head. For other treaties in which the Iowas were a party see under Missouri, 1836.

By treaty of September 27, 1836, the United States ceded a small strip of land to the Iowas and the Missouri band of Sacs and Foxes south of the Missouri river, and located in the northeast corner of Doniphan County, Kansas.

Missouri, (Great Mud, referring to the Missouri river). Synonyms: Missoori, Missoury and thirty-eight others. The name of the river was bestowed on them by the whites because of their location on the Missouri river, and not their name bestowed on the river. Their name for themselves is Mintache, meaning those who reached the mouth of the river, referring probably to their residence at the mouth of Grand river. According to Gale the early form of the word Missouri is Algonquan. The word has been spelled many different way.

The most closely allied tribes are the Iowa and Oto. According to tradition, after having parted from the Winnebagos at Green Bay, the Missouri, Oto and Iowa moved westward to Iowa river where the Iowas stopped. The rest continued westward reaching the Missouri river at the mouth of Grand river. Here, after some dispute, the Otos withdrew and moved further up the Missouri river. About the beginning of the eighteenth century the French found the Missouris on the left bank of the Missouri river near the mouth of Grand river, and built a fort on an island near them. The tribe continued to dwell in this vicinity for about one hundred years. The great Grand river valley was doubtless the finest hunting ground in the territory, which may account for the long residence of the tribe in its vicinity. Other tribes doubtless roamed and hunted in the same country as was the usual, or, rather, universal custom. As seen above the Missouris called themselves by a name which meant "Those who reach the month of the river," a very proper name for a tribe which had after long wandering and journeying reached the mouth of a river which proved to be eminently fitted for a permanent location.

Du Pratz, the French historian, writing of the unfortunate tribe said: "The Missouris were recently engaged in another war with the Sac and Fox, more than two hundred of them were killed in one engagement." The remainder of the tribe fled across the river and sought refuge among their neighbors, the Little Osages, on Petitesas plains, now Saline County. The remnant of the tribe established a village on Petitesas plains. The site of this village is supposed to be about three and one-half miles northeast of Malta Bend.

There was peace on Petitesas plains until 1775, when the Missouri and the Little Osages were attacked and defeated by their relentless foes—the Sacs and Foxes. This was the final blow to the Missouri tribe. The few families that were left fled forever from the valley of the Missouri. A few of the Missouris followed the Osages, who retreated to the villages of their brethren, the Great Osages, on the Osage river.

The remainder of the band of Missouris fled to the mouth of the Platte river, where they took refuge with the Otoes, became merged into that tribe and lost their identity as a nation. Lewis and Clark, on their expedition up the Missouri river in 1804, noted the sites of the abandoned Indian villages on Petitesas plains. This record was made: "In front of our camp are the remains of an old village of the Little Osages, situated at some distance from the river at the foot of a small hill. About three miles below them, in view of our camp, is the situation of the old villages of the Missouris, after they fled from the Sacs."

In 1829 the number with the Otoes was eighty. They accompanied the Otoes to the Indian Territory in 1882. At that time their number had been reduced to forty. A letter from the superintendent to the writer, dated Otoe Agency, Oklahoma, May 14, 1908, says: "There is not a full blood Missouri Indian left on this reservation. The last full blood of the tribe died about a year ago."

Treaties.

In the treaty of July 15th, 1830, the Sac and Fox, Medemakanton, Wahpdkuta, Wahpeton and Sisseton bands of Sioux, Omaha, Iowa, Oto and Missouri relinquished all claim to the Platte purchase. The land thus ceded it was understood might be assigned or allotted to the tribes then living on them, or to such other tribes as the President might locate thereon, or permit to hunt therein.

October, 1836, the Missouris in connection with the Oto, Omaha, and Yankton and Sisseton bands of Sioux made a treaty fully relinquishing all claim to the territory included in the treaty made July 15th, 1830. These are the only treaties touching Missouri Indian land matters, and from them we learn that the Missouris claimed or occupied no territory as a tribe, after their settlement was broken up at the mouth of Grand river about 1798. Efforts to civilize and christianize them failed to accomplish much if any good. They adhered tenaciously to the old customs. Once a power-

ful nation, now all that is left are a few mixed bloods, scattered among other tribes.

Oto. Synonyms: Otoe, Ototetata, Ottoos and seventy-eight others.

One of the three Siouan tribes forming the Chi-were group, the others being the Iowas and Missouris. The languages differ but slightly. The earliest reference to this tribe is found in the tradition which relates to the separation of the Chi-were group from the Winnebago, at Green Bay, Wisconsin. Another division took place at the mouth of the Iowa river, where the Iowas concluded to remain, while the Missouris and Otos continued their travels till they reached the mouth of Grand river. Here they remained for some time when a quarrel arose between two chiefs and a separation followed. The Otos moved farther up the Missouri river and finally settled permanently on the Platte river, Nebraska.

Other Tribes.

July 15th, 1830, the United States made a treaty at Prairie du Chien, Michigan, with the following tribes: Sac and Fox, Medewakanton, Wahpeton and Sisseton bands of the Sioux, Omaha, Iowa, Oto and Missouri tribes, by which the said tribes ceded to the United States an immense tract of land lying in Wisconsin, Iowa, and including the Territory in Missouri which we designate as the Platte purchase. The understanding was that this territory was to be allotted under direction of the President of the United States to the tribes then living thereon or to such other tribes as the President might locate thereon for hunting or other purposes. How many of the above tribes actually lived in the part of territory in Missouri we do not know.

As will be seen under Sac and Fox, the Sacs and Foxes on the 27th of September, 1836, ceded their interests in the Missouri part of the territory, as noted in the treaty of 1830, to the United States. October 15th, 1836, the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Yankton and Santee bands of Sioux ceded and quitclaimed to the United States all right and interest in

the Platte purchase tract. (9) See land grant cessions as in notes under 1. This treaty, so far as the records show, terminated all interest of the above named Indian tribes in and to lands in Missouri, except homesteads to a few half breeds of different tribes. There is no evidence that any of the above named tribes ever lived on the above named tract of land except the Missouri tribe. The Otos once resided with the Missouri at the mouth of Grand River. (See Oto.) The Omahas at one time resided with the Osages, Kansa and Ponca in the vicinity of St. Louis, but at what date or for how long we have no way of ascertaining. (10) ((See our notice of the Omahas under Osage.)

Algonquin Tribes—Sauk or Sac.

The Sauk came to Wisconsin through the lower Michigan peninsula, their traditional home being north of the lakes, and they were comparatively new comers in Wisconsin when they were first met by the French in 1670. About 1780 the Foxes were incorporated with them, and since then the united tribes have been known as Sauk and Fox.

Fox.

The name Fox, or red fox, the name of only a clan, was erroneously applied to the whole tribe by some French traders. Their own name for themselves is Mishkwakihng—red people, because of the kind of earth from which they are supposed to have been created. When the Foxes first became known to the whites they lived in the vicinity of Lake Winnebago, Wisconsin, in 1670. The Foxes were a savage, warlike people and seem to have been quarrelsome. This disposition resulted in almost constant warfare, which went on until they were finally overthrown. Their last fatal conflict was with the Chippewa, when they were almost annihilated. This was in 1780. The remnant incorporated with the Sauk, and although long officially regarded as one, the two tribes have preserved their identity.

Sac and Fox.

When they first made their appearance in Missouri we can not tell. The first treaty we find touching their connection with Missouri was held in St. Louis, November, 1804. This treaty simply fixed the boundary of their territory, but how long they had been in possession of the territory they were then occupying we have no means of ascertaining. It is known that while the Siouan family was recognized as the rightful owner of nearly all of Missouri from a very remote period, that the Algonquin held a strip of land along the west shore of the Mississippi, the ownership dating far back in prehistoric times. This treaty did nothing more than recognize the justice of the claim of the Sac and Fox, being Algonquin tribes, and defining its boundary. The territory as described embraces the following counties: St. Charles, Warren, Lincoln, Montgomery, Pike and Ralls, and parts of Callaway, Audrain, Monroe, Shelby and Marion. (From a map.) The tract was about eighty miles from north to south and about fifty miles from east to west, bounded on the east by the Mississippi river and on the south by the Missouri river; west by a line beginning at the Missouri river opposite the mouth of the Gasconade river,running northerly to Shelbyville, thence southeast to the Mississippi river.

Other Treaties.

In 1815 at the treaty held in St. Louis it was that that portion of the Sauk nation residing on the Missouri river assent to the treaty between the United States and the united tribes of Sac and Fox, concluded at St. Louis, 1804, and that the Fox nation or tribe assented to and confirmed the treaty between the United States and the united tribes of the Sacs and Foxes concluded at St. Louis, 1804.

Treaty of Washington, August 4, 1824.

The united tribe cede all their right to lands claimed by them in Missouri as defined by the treaty of 1804. In 1830

the Sac and Fox with other tribes ceded their interest to the United States, in what we denominate the Platte purchase with the understanding that the said lands were to be allotted and assigned by the President to the tribes then living thereon, and to such other tribes as the President might locate thereon for hunting and other purposes. It is evident that this territory became the home of Sac and Fox on the relinquishment of their lands on the Mississippi river. In September, 1836, the Sac and Fox ceded to the United States all their claim and interest in and to the lands in the territory described in the treaty of 1830. By the provisions of another treaty dated September 17, 1836, the United States assigned to the Iowa and Missouri band of Sac and Fox a small reservation in Kansas. This reservation is in Doniphan County. These are the tribes from the Platte purchase, the body of land now composing the Counties of Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Nodoway, Holt and Atchison.

Delaware. Synonyms: Delawaras, Delaways and fifty-five others.

A confederacy which occupied the entire basin of Delaware river in East Pennsylvania and Southeast New York, together with New Jersey and Delaware. They called themselves Lenape or Leni, a name meaning Real Men. The Delawares got their name from their principal river. As the whites crowded them out of their homes they removed first to the Susquehanna in 1742. They soon abandoned this location, and after some time the greater part located in East Ohio on the Muskingum river, where they made their permanent abode.

In 1793 a part of them removed to Missouri and with a band of Shawnees, occupied the tract of land granted them by the Spanish Government. (See under Shawnee.) In 1815 they with a band of Shawnees removed from Missouri to Arkansas. By 1820 these two bands found their way to Texas where the Delawares numbered at that time probably seven hundred. By 1835 most of the tribe had been gathered

from their different reserves on a reservation in Kansas, a few miles west of Kansas City, Kansas.

Treaties.

October 3rd, 1818, a treaty was made with the Delawares by which they ceded to the United States all their claim to land in Indiana, and the United States agreed to provide for them a country west of the Mississippi and to guarantee them peaceable possession of the same. The land selected for them was a tract on White river, Missouri. The tract was about seventy miles from east to west by forty-four miles from north to south. It included the Counties of Barry, Stone and parts of Christian, Green and Lawrence. September 24, 1829, a council was held on Jones park of White river where a treaty was made by which the Delawares ceded to the United States all their claim to the Cape Girardeau tract. and also the tract in Southwest Missouri as above described. Thirty-six sections of the Cape Girardeau tract were to be sold to provide schools for the Delaware children. In 1828 Peankeshaw had a village on this reservation. Their stay in Missouri seems to have been more for visiting and hunting than for residence.

Shawnee. (Southerners.) Synonyms: Shano, Shawneese. Savannah and one hundred sixty-four others.

The Shawnee was a leading tribe of South Carolina, Pennsylvania and Ohio. In 1793 the Spanish Government gave to bands of Shawnee and Delaware a tract of land near Cape Girardeau, bounded as follows: East by the Mississippi river, west by White river, north by St. Come river and south by Cape Girardeau, equal to twenty-five miles square. This tract was abandoned by the Delawares in 1815, who with a small band of Shawnees settled in Arkansas. After Wayne's great victory over the Indian confederacy, 1793, followed by the treaty which put an end to the long wars in the Ohio valley, the more hostile part of the Shawnee joined those living in Missouri. The other part settled on the Auglaize river in Ohio. The Shawnee residing in Mis-

souri in 1812 numbered about eight hundred, being about half of the entire tribe. In 1825 they ceded their lands to the United States, and removed to Kansas where they had been granted a tract of land to be fifty miles square or its equivalent in exchange for their Missouri reserve. Here they were joined in 1832-3 by the Ohio branch. Prior to the treaty of 1825 a large part of them had gone to Texas, and settled on the headwaters of the Sabine river where they remained till 1839. For a time a band of the Shawnee lived on land informally assigned them in Southwest Missouri on the headwaters of White river, but it seems they acquired no title to the tract. Within the boundary of this reservation are parts of the Counties of Webster, Wright, Douglas, Ozark and Taney. In 1828 there was a Peoria and Piankeshaw village on the headwaters of White river, just on the line dividing the Shawnee reservation from the Delaware reservation, which it joined on the west.

The Shawnee were a restless, fierce and warlike people, and one of the most turbulent tribes our Government has been called to deal with. We can not follow them in their devious meanderings and through their various wars, but simply make the following quotation from the hand book: "For a period of 40 years—from the beginning of the French and Indian war to the treaty of Greenville in 1795—they were almost constantly at war with the English or the Americans and distinguished themselves as the most hostile tribe in that region. Most of the expeditions sent across the Ohio during the Revolutionary period, were directed against the Shawnee, and most of the destruction on the Kentucky frontier was the work of the same tribe."

Of those in Missouri it is only fair to say that they remained quietly on their reserve, refusing to join in any war against the whites. They were industrious and peaceable, giving our people no trouble. Among them were men of prominence and influence in Indian councils and transactions with the Government.

JOAB SPENCER.

DANIEL BOONE IN MISSOURI.

Third Paper.

The last twenty-five years of the life of Daniel Boone was spent in Missouri, and when he died he was buried there. Scenes connected with his daily life during this period seem to possess an abiding interest for the American people. The Boone farm in the upper part of St. Charles County, and the old stone mansion that stands upon it, are visited every year by numerous pilgrims, who come from distant States, and even from across the sea, to worship at the shrine of the world's greatest pioneer. Each new arrival drinks freely from the spring of sweet water that bubbles up from beneath a great ledge of rock, paints a mental picture of the adjacent scenery of hill and bluff and rolling valley, and carries away with him pleasant memories of the place and its surroundings. Others, less reverent of sentiment, chip off pieces of the stone house, or gather mementoes from the spot where the old cabin stood; while some fondly cherish photographs of a modern pig-sty, which they are made to believe contains some of the logs that entered into the first Boone house west of the Mississippi. The present owner of the place, a thrifty American of German ancestry, is disposed to let all his visitors have their own way, and very rarely undeceives any of them regarding the pig house. And why should he spoil a harmless sentiment? Every vestige of the old cabin has long since disappeared, except a few faint traces of the foundations where it stood.

The spring was the inducement which led Boone to build his cabin there. Those old pioneers valued a spring more than they did the land surrounding it; for it not only supplied them with water so cold as to require no ice, but it was sure to be a general meeting-place for deer and other game. Many

a buffalo, coming to slake his thirst at this spring, yielded up his life a victim to the unerring aim of the old pioneer. Boone could sit in the door of his cabin, which stood fifty feet or more eastwardly from the spring, and lay in a winter's supply of meat for his family without the trouble of hunting. He could pick his choice of deer, elk, buffalo, or bear; for all these animals came there to drink. Bear meat was preferred above all other kinds, owing to its sweet and nutty flavor; and the bacon of swine went begging when bear bacon was convenient. Wild turkeys were so abundant and so tame that they roosted in the trees that stood about the cabin, and were not regarded with special favor; for when one eats turkey every day he soon longs for something more substantial. Bees nested in the crevices of the rocks and in the hollows of adjacent trees, and came also to the spring to fill their little buckets with water. Thus Booone and his family had an abundance of honey, of the best quality and flavor, without going beyond the limits of their own yard or bothering themselves about the care of the bees. It was a genuine Arcadia, embracing an existence seemingly unreal, but it was very real and substantial when Boone built his cabin on the bank above the spring—and for some years thereafter.

Back of the spring a hill slopes gradually up to the foot of a bluff, from the top of which may be seen many miles of the level stretches of Femme Osage valley, with the creek of the same name winding its course through the corn and wheat fields and the rich meadow lands that margin its banks. There are not many finer views anywhere in the world; and for richness of soil the farms that lie spread out beneath this bluff can hold their own with the valley of the Nile. Before Boone came the French had given a name to this creek ("Woman of the Osages") to perpetuate the memory of an Osage woman, said to have been beautiful, who lost her life while attempting to cross the stream when it was swollen by recent rains. Sometimes it becomes a torrent, sweeping over all obstacles and flooding the lower portions

of the valley. It was in this condition when the Osage woman, driven doubtless, by an unsympathetic husband, gained immortality by getting herself drowned.

The story of how Daniel Boone came to the valley of the Femme Osage is told in the records of Louisiana Territory. About 1790, weary and despondent over his failure to secure titles to his lands in Kentucky, and burdened with debts which he could not pay, the ruggedly honest old pioneer gave up all the acres that he possessed in the now famous bluegrass region, and removed with his family to the valley of the Kanawha. He located in what was then the northwestern part of the State of Virginia, but now within the limits of Mason County, West Virginia, not far from the town of Point Pleasant. The Northwest Territory was already beginning to be occupied by thrifty pioneers, and it was believed that the Kanawha Valley was a good place to settle and catch the drift of trade as it flowed by from the Atlantic States to the new and expanding West.

Soon after the removal to the Kanawha country, Daniel M. Boone, a favorite son, and also a pioneer of distinction, ventured into the Louisiana Territory on a hunting and trapping expedition. The fame of his father had preceded him, and he was most kindly treated by the Spanish authorities at St. Louis. The Lieutenant Governor, Senor Zenon Trudeau, suggested that if his father, the celebrated Colonel Boone, would remove to Louisiana, the King would appreciate the act and treat him handsomely. The younger Boone thereupon sent back such glowing accounts of the warmth of his welcome, the richness of the soil, the excellence of the climate, and the plentifulness of game, that the imagination of the old pioneer was inflamed; and disposing his family and his few earthly belongings on pack-horses, he led the way on foot across the present States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to the north bank of the Missouri river, in what is now the upper part of St. Charles County. This journey was made in 1795 when Boone was in his sixty-first year, and a glance at the map will show the magnitude of

the undertaking. The old man walked every foot of the way, with his rifle on his shoulder, through a trackless wilderness, a large part of which was infested by bands of blood-thirsty savages. The fact that he made the journey and brought his family through in safety attests the greatness of the man.

On their arrival in St. Louis, Colonel Boone and his family were treated by the Spanish officials as distinguished guests. The freedom of the city was extended to them. The American and Spanish flags were displayed side by side, and the garrison was paraded in honor of the distinguished pioneer of Kentucky. No function of courteous hospitality was left unperformed; and before their departure the Spanish Lieutenant Governor presented Colonel Boone with a grant for 1,000 arpents of land, to be located where he pleased in the "District of the Femme Osage." The district then embraced everything north of the Missouri river and indefinitely westward to the "South Sea." It was large enough to satisfy a man even of Colonel Boone's expansive ideas; but he chose to locate the grant in the rich bottom lands of the Missouri river, four or five miles below the present town of Augusta. There he built his first cabin within the limits of Missouri, close by the uncertain banks of the shifting stream. The land and the cabin have long since been swallowed by the caving-in of the banks, and the river now flows where the Boone arpents lay. Here he and his son, Daniel M., undertook to build a town, which they called Missouriton, in honor of the river on whose banks it stood. For a while the place flourished, and after the cession of Louisiana to the United States it was proposed to locate the capital of the Territory there. But the town, like the cabin and the land, has long since fallen into the river. Nothing remains to mark its site, and no memory of the place lingers in the neighborhood except a country postoffice called Missouriton, kept by a farmer who lives some distance from where the old town stood.

A year or two after his arrival, the Spanish authorities entered into a contract with Colonel Boone to bring one hundred American families to Upper Louisiana, for which he was to receive a grant for 10,000 arpents of land, to be laid, as others had been, in the Femme Osage district. The contract was fully complied with by both parties, but Boone lost his land by neglecting to have his grant confirmed by the Spanish Governor at New Orleans. There were no public mails then in Louisiana Territory, and a trip to the southern capital was too great an undertaking merely to secure the signature of the Governor. Meanwhile the transfer of the Territory was made to the United States, and it was then too late for Boone to have his title confirmed. Subsequently, on the 24th of December, 1813, Congress, by special act, confirmed his title to the Spanish grant for 1,000 arpents. This tract he soon afterward sold and applied the proceeds to the payment of his Kentucky debts; so that, in the end, he died landless, for the farm and the stone mansion in the Femme Osage valley belonged to General Nathan Boone.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of Femme Osage district had increased to such proportions as to require a local government, and on the 11th of June, 1800, Colonel Boone was appointed commandant of the district. It was about that time, or perhaps a little earlier, that he built the cabin near the spring in the Femme Osage valley and removed his family there. The duties of his office were both civil and military, and his decision in all cases was final, except those involving land titles, which were referred to the crown or its immediate representative. Punishment for crime or misdemeanor was of the most summary character. The accused, if proven guilty, was tied up and whipped, the number of lashes being proportioned to the nature of his offense. A hickory sapling that stood in the yard near the spring served as a whipping-post. That kind of punishment met the requirements of the age, and no thief or breaker of the law was ever known to resent a judgment rendered by Daniel Boone. He held his court under the

spreading branches of a large elm tree, which still stands on the bank a few feet above the spring, and is known as "Daniel Boone's Judgment Tree." Here, dressed in buckskin hunting-shirt and pantaloons and moccasins of the same material and seated at the roots of the old tree, he propounded the law and dispensed justice to his assembled neighbors in a manner that never failed to win their approval. If a hog-thief, or one who had put his mark on his neighbor's shoats, pleaded guilty or was proven so, he was promptly "whipped and cleared," as they expressed it. That ended the trouble, and the culprit went about his business with no further annoyance or loss of caste in the community. Fortunately, there were no capital offenses committed in the district during Boone's administration, and he was never called upon to condemn a murderer.

The stone house, or mansion, was completed about 1813. It has been represented as the first stone house erected west of the Mississippi; but this is a probable error, for houses of that material were built in St. Louis, and doubtless also in Ste. Genevieve, at an earlier date. But they were not such houses as the Boone mansion. That was the product of the joint labors of the old Colonel and his son, General Nathan Boone, assisted by their slaves, and several years were devoted to the work. The walls are composed of blue limestone, neatly chiseled, and are about two feet thick. The size of the building measured on the outside of the walls, is twenty-eight by forty-six feet, with a height of twenty-two feet. A hall nine feet wide runs through the center of the first and second stories, with doors opening into the rooms on either side. The rooms are large and uncomfortable in appearance, and have no closets or other conveniences known to modern architecture. Yet a great deal of work was expended in some features of their ornamentation. The entire structure is divided into seven rooms, three on the first floor, and two each on the second floor and in the attic. A portico ornaments the north front, and a double veranda the south. The marks of the hammers and chisels on the stones are as plainly

visible now as they were the day the house was finished, and the plaster that the stones were laid in was mixed in such a manner that it has become about as hard as the stone itself. It is said that the plaster was "ripened" by being buried in the ground over winter.

Daniel Boone occupied a little diagonal room to the right of the hall, on the first floor, in the northwest corner of the building. It was partitioned off from the kitchen, which also served as the dining-room, and it is entered by a single door opening into the latter. Two small windows give light from the north. In this room the famous pioneer, hunter and Indian fighter lived during the last few years of his life, and there he died, like an infant falling asleep, on the 26th day of September, 1820. A telephone now hangs on the wall of this room. What a story the old pioneer might tell could he but connect with the other end of the wire !

WILLIAM S. BRYAN.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN COLUMBIA, MISSOURI.

At the request of the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Columbia, Missouri, Rev. F. W. Sneed, and of various members, I have consented to write a historical sketch of the church. It might be greatly extended, and necessarily would be if it embraced a tithe of the many interesting and suggestive events, and of the trials and triumphs which properly belong to a complete history of the organization.

On September 14, 1828, the little band of Presbyterians then residing in and near Columbia, were organized into a church by Rev. W. P. Cochran and Thomas Durfee, who were commissioned by the Home Missionary society of New York to visit Missouri, and perhaps other portions of the West.

The preliminary meeting was held and the church organization effected at the residence of the late James Richardson. The house in which he then resided is still standing, and many citizens of town and country, and visitors as well, frequently pass it in going to and from the railroad depot, no one of them perhaps remembering, if they ever knew, that more than sixty-five years ago, one of the large and influential religious bodies of Columbia was there organized.

The house is a one-story frame, as it now appears, then a one-story log dwelling, on the northeast corner of Tenth and Walnut streets, and on the corner north of the "Powers House." It was afterwards known as the "Kidd Place," and belonged to Allen H. Kidd, but in 1840 was purchased by the late Mrs. Sophia Kirtley, who occupied it as a residence and died there July 6, 1871. By her will she devised the property to her grand-daughter, Mrs. Catherine Clapp, who subsequently sold it to her sister, Mrs. Wm. A. Cauthorn, who now owns it. Those present at the meeting were Peter Wright, Mrs. Caroline Wilson (mother of the late Maj. N. W. Wilson,

and grand-mother of Mr. Josiah W. Stone, ex-circuit court clerk), John and Elizabeth Sutton, William and Harriett T. Pierce and Robert A. Huston. In the fall of 1830 Mrs. Pierce established the first school for female pupils known to the history of Columbia, and taught it in a one-story hewed-log house which then stood on the northwest corner of the present residence lot of Mr. B. Loeb.

The church organization occurred on Saturday, September 14, 1828, and on the next day, Sunday, a sunrise prayer meeting was held at the Richardson residence; and at eleven o'clock a. m., the same day at the same place, preaching services were held, at which time, two additional persons, George and Phillip McAfee, father and brother of the late Rev. Robert L. McAfee, united with the infant organization, and two ruling elders, Peter Wright and William Pierce, were chosen. In 1832 John Vanhorn and Robert Huston were chosen deacons.

I am indebted to "Reminiscences," by Judge T. B. Gentry for much valuable information concerning this church's history. From this, among many other things, I learn that the church continued to meet for worship at the Richardson residence for about fifteen months, new members being added until the number reached thirty or forty, when they removed in January, 1830, to Boone county's first court house, an old brick building which stood on the site of the Baptist church building that was recently torn down, and west of the present court house.

On Sunday, January 16, 1831, the session met in the country at Andrew Hannah's, and received into the church the late Dr. William Provines and wife.

After worshiping in the old court house for some time, with the Rev. W. P. Cochran as minister, the church purchased a lot for $50 of the late Judge John Vanhorn, and erected thereon a small, unpretentious but comfortable brick building on the north side of Walnut, between Fifth and Sixth streets, which cost about $1,000. A part of this building yet remains and is occupied by colored people. In the early history of Columbia, this building, though plain and

unadorned, without bell or belfry, was the center of many important interests, and is still a green spot in the memory of some of the old inhabitants of the town.

It became the nursery not only of religion and morality, but of education as well. It was here that Miss Lucy Wales opened the first school in Columbia, exclusively for the education of young ladies, and laid the foundation of the celebrated Columbia Female Academy, the forerunner and inspiration of the two large female colleges which are now the pride and boast of the people.

It was in this little brick church, in November, 1833, that the late Governor Richard Gentry and his wife, Ann Gentry (the parents of our fellow-citizen, Judge T. G. Gentry), and four children, Analyza, Harrison, Perry and Jane, together with eight other persons, united with the church.

While worshiping in this building the congregation held a campmeeting in August, 1834, at the Presbyterian camp ground near Columbia, at which eight persons united with the church, among them Judge David Todd, John G. Keene and Dorothy Ann Gentry, the latter afterward the wife of Henry Crumbaugh. This old camp ground was on Hinkson creek, northeast of town, on or near land then owned by Andrew Hannah and not for from the farm of N. B. Zaring, who is now a member of the church.

One of the greatest revival meetings in the history of the church was held in the little brick on Walnut street. It occurred in January and February, 1843, and notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather and the almost impassable condition of the streets, great crowds attended the services day and night. About one hundred persons united with the church, among whom may be mentioned, Dr. H. M. Clarkson (father of John S. and Arthur P. Clarkson), Roger North Todd (father of R. L. Todd), F. A. Hamilton, Sinclair Kirtley, W. F. Switzler, Joseph B. Howard, John B. Royall (husband of the late Mrs. P. W. Royall, and father of Mrs. Prof. G. C. Broadhead and Prof. John P. Royall, of Columbia, and Mrs. Judge J. A. Henderson, of Brighton), W. N. Beattie, Jas. H.

Parker (father of Moss P. Parker), Montgomery P. Lientz, R. L. Todd, R. R. Provines, Carolina F. Todd, Susan B. Todd afterwards the wife of the late C. C. Branham and the mother of J. Scott Branham), Mary Jane Royall, who in August of the same year married W. F. Switzler; Elizabeth Culbert, now Mrs. John D. Vanhorn, and Mary Gentry (the late Mrs. Boyle Gordon).

The meeting was conducted by the Revs. Isaac Jones, David Coulter, Robert L. McAfee and W. W. Robertson, the latter still living in Fulton, Missouri, at an advanced age.

After this revival, it became necessary to have a larger and better place of worship; and, therefore, with a view of securing it, on October 2, 1843, the little brick church and lot were sold for $475 and measures adopted to erect a more commodious and suitable structure on the southeast corner of Tenth and Broadway, the site of the church so recently displaced to make room for the beautiful building, the corner stone of which is to be laid today.

Previous to the sale of the little brick church, the ladies of the church and congregation, under the leadership and inspiration of Prudence Culbert, Ann Gentry, Matilda Todd, Permelia W. Royal, Caroline Wilson, Frances E. Lathrop, Mrs. Provines and other sisters of the church of precious memory, raised the means by ice cream festivals and from other sources, and purchased of Maj. John Slack for $50, the lot with the hope that at some day a new church would be erected upon it.

They all lived to see their prayers answered and their hopes realized, for on January 14, 1845, a building committee of the church, consisting of Henry Crumbaugh, R. H. Gentry, Sinclair Kirtley, George Smith and W. F. Switzler, entered into a contract with John G. Keene, who covenanted, for the sum of $900 "to do all the brick work of said church," and furnish the materials therefor, the building to be 45x60 feet, with walls 20 feet high and 18 inches thick, and to complete the same by September 1, 1845, and in addition, to collect the $900 himself from the subscription paper. If, after due diligence, a balance remained unpaid, it was to operate as a lien upon the

building. I have in my possession the original contract, and am not mistaken in respect to its terms. Phineas Kenyon, who had been a contractor for the stone work on the State University, erected the foundation in the fall of 1844, and John Vanhorn furnished the materials and constructed the wood work, and B. McAlester the pews for the church, the entire edifice, except the pews, plastering and painting being completed on September 12, 1845.

The auditorium being incomplete, services were held in the basement until the summer of 1846; and it is within the memory of the writer that the first sermon delivered in the auditorium was by Rev. David Coulter during the summer of the last year named.

During the time occupied in the erection of the new church, from October, 1843, to the summer of 1846, services were regularly held in a hall in the second story of a brick store house on Broadway, then belonging to Lewis Peebles, which was afterward bought by Dr. S. B. Victor, and used by him as a drug and book store for about thirty-five years. A new building now occupies the same lot, and is owned and used by Charles B. Miller as a boot and shoe store.

In October, 1860, a large and handsome pipe organ was placed in the church at a cost of $700, Mr. James L. Stephens, not a member of the Presbyterian church, contributing one fourth of the purchase money.

The following is a roster of the pastors of the church from its organization to the present time.

1828-1833, **William P. Cochran**; 1833-1834, no pastor; 1834-1835, **F. R. Grey**; 1835-1836, **Luther Van Doren**; 1836-1838, **John L. Yantis** (father of Prof. James A. Yantis of the law department of the State University); 1838-1840, no pastor; 1840-1846, **Isaac Jones**, his pastorate commencing on October 22, 1840, and closing January 9, 1846; 1846-1848, no pastor; 1848-1849, **Frank Hart**; 1849-1851, **J. T. Paxton**; 1851-1858, **Nathan H. Hall**; 1858-1861, Samuel A. Mutchmore; 1861-1862, **M. M. Fisher**; 1862-1864, no pastor; 1864-1867, **David Coulter**; 1867-1870, Benjamin Y. George; 1870-1871, no pastor, 1871-

1876, Richard S. Campbell; 1876-1878, John S. Grasty; 1878-1879, no pastor; 1879-1885, W. B. Y. Wilkie; 1885-1889, A. A. Pfanstiehl; 1889-1890, O. S. Thompson; 1890-1892, no pastor; 1892 to the present time, Frank W. Sneed. Eighteen pastors during an existence of 65 years, eleven of whom have died, their names being printed above in black.

During the summer of 1893, after several meetings of the church and congregation and reports from several committees, it was determined to erect a new church edifice of the most approved architectural design and finish, on the site of the old church, and the following committee was appointed to superintend the work. Jas. H. Waugh, J. Scott Branham, N. T. Gentry, Walter Williams, E. F. Ammerman and Rollins M. Hockaday.

The contract for the erection of the new church building was let to the lowest bidder at $22,000, John W. Wilson & Son, of St. Louis, becoming the contractors. Architectural plans and specifications were furnished by various architects, after which the committee selected and the church approved those provided by J. G. Cairns, of Kirkwood, St. Louis county, Missouri.

The present elders of the church are R. L. Todd, William L. Parker, E. D. Porter, N. Todd Gentry and J. S. Blackwell. Deacons—N. B. Zaring, W. W. Garth, Irvin Switzler, E. F. Ammerman and J. Scott Branham.

WM. F. SWITZLER.

October 7, 1894.

A FEW OF THE COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY ANCESTORS OF MRS. JESSIE BENTON FREMONT.*

Gladstone once wisely stated that no greater calamity could befall a people than to break utterly with the past. With that thought in mind I am going to ask you to review with me for a few minutes the early history of the family of Mrs. Fremont, whose death we, as a Society, are mourning today.

To go back only a little over a hundred years and five generations from Elizabeth Benton, the mother of Mrs. Fremont, we find Col. Ephraim McDowell, that brave and gallant Pathfinder of those early days. Henry Howe tells us in one of his histories that this hardy pioneer, who lived to be over a hundred years old, built the first road across the Blue Ridge, opening up the Virginia valley to the commerce of the Old World through the merchants of the Atlantic coast. This remarkable man retained the full possession of his faculties to the very last, dying just at the outbreak of the Revolution, but not until he had heard the praises bestowed upon his grandchildren for meritorious conduct at the battle of Point Pleasant. His eldest daughter lived to be 104 years old, being an unusually talented woman. John, the eldest son, being the one we are interested in as the ancestor of Elizabeth Benton, was a bold Indian fighter and was chosen as Burden's surveyor when what was then known of Virginia was being opened up for set tlement. This was in 1737, and was the earliest survey on record made in Virginia. He was appointed as Captain of a company formed to protect the lives and property of the settlers against the invasions of the Indians, and most nobly were the duties connected with that trust performed until on Christmas Day, 1742, he, with eight of his trusty men, while in pursuit of a party of Indians who had attacked a settlement, fell

*A paper read before the Elizabeth Benton Chapter D. A. R., Kansas City.

into an ambuscade and were killed. All were buried in one common grave near Lexington. Thus died a worthy scion of a noble race. His daughter, Sarah, became the wife of Col. Moffett, another brave soldier who won renown at Guilford, Cowpens and Kings Mt.

The next in succession, however, was the second son of the Indain fighter, Col. James McDowell, b. in 1739. He was called to fill many offices of public trust and was on his way to Richmond on business of importance as sheriff of the county when the final summons came, this being in 1771, when he was only 32 years old.

The next in succession was Col. James again, youngest son of the above, who inherited the magnificent estate left by his father. He was a Colonel in the War of 1812 where he won honor and fame. He married Sarah, daughter of Col. Wm. Preston, a Revolutionary hero and descended from a long line of brave ancestors. The only son of James and Sarah Preston McDowell was James, the father of Elizabeth Benton, and not yet had the race deteriorated, for James McDowell was an exceptional character in many ways: a graceful and accomplished gentleman, honest and upright in all his dealings; a Congressman and United States Senator; chief executive of Virginia, his native state and an able man, most highly and honorably distinguished. And no less talented was his noble wife, they, by the way, being full cousins. She was Sarah, daughter of Gen. Francis Preston, a Congressman from Virginia and a brave officer in the War of 1812, his wife being a daughter of Col. Wm. Campbell, who was given command at the Battle of King's Mt. by Isaac Shelby, who with Sevier, Winston and the two Joe McDowells were the real heroes of that memorable battle. Col. Campbell's wife was a sister of Patrick Henry, the great orator of the Revolutionary period, and daughter of Sarah Winston, an unusually bright and gifted woman.

To go back to the mother of Elizabeth Benton, let me mention just a few of her immediate kindred whose names are household words in Virginia. One of her sisters became the

wife of Rev. Dr. Robert Breckenridge and another sister married John B. Floyd, Secretary of War under President Buchanan. These men were cousins of Mr. and Mrs. McDowell; and Wm. C. Preston, the scholarly and gifted South Carolina orator and Gen. John S. Preston, a gallant soldier and brilliant orator, were her brothers. And I have mentioned the names of only a few of the members of this remarkable family who became more or less famous. To go into detail would be to give much of the early history of both Virginia and Kentucky, while a recital of the incidents connected with the lives of the husband and father of Mrs. Fremont would include many of the most interesting events relating to the settlement and growth of much of our western territory. But this paper is much too long already, and I will only add the wish that we may always hold in loving remembrance the names of Elizabeth Benton and her famous daughter, Jessie Benton Fremont.

EMMA S. WHITE,
Historian Elizabeth Benton Chapter D. A. R.

MISSOURI FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

Columbia, Mo., March 18, 1909.

In accordance with the program recently sent to the members the Third Annual Meeting of the Missouri Folk-Lore Society was held March 12 and 13, 1909, at the University of Missouri, Columbia.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance of $22.70 on hand at the close of last year.

The following officers were elected:

President—Miss Mary A. Owen, St. Joseph.

Vice Presidents—Dr. W. L. Campbell, Kansas City; Principal J. N. Powell, St. Louis; Miss Mary A. Wadsworth, Columbia.

Secretary—Professor H. M. Belden, Columbia.

Treasurer—Mrs. L. D. Ames, Columbia.

Director (succeeding Professor Weeks)—Dr. F. A. Golder, Columbia.

At the business meeting it was proposed by Dr. Golder that arrangements be made for the regular publication of the work of the Society. The Executive Board was asked to formulate a plan for the purpose to be submitted to the Society at its next annual meeting.

A list of the active members of the Society is enclosed. If the Society is to undertake publication, either the annual dues or the membership must be greatly increased. The Secretary will be glad to send application blanks for membership to any member who can use them.

H. M.BELDEN, Secretary.

Membership List, March, 1909.

Hon. D. C. Allen, Liberty.
Prof. H. B. Almstedt, Columbia.
Mrs. L. D. Ames, Columbia.
Mr. J. N. Baskett, Mexico.
Miss Elizabeth Bedford, Rome, Ga.
Dr. William G. Bek, Columbia..
Prof. H. M. Belden, Columbia.
Miss Mary D. Breed, Columbia.
Prof. W. G. Brown, Columbia.
Mr. W. V. Byars, St. Louis.
Dr. W. L. Campbell, Kansas City.
Miss Jennie F. Chase, St. Louis.
Hon. C. W. Clarke, Kansas City.
Miss Charlotte Corder, Morrisville.
Mr. Harold Crandall, Normandy.
Principal J. C. Edwards, St. Louis.
Miss Katherine Edwards, Centralia.
Prof. C. A. Ellwood, Columbia.
Miss L. R. Ernst, St. Louis
Mrs. Louise Norwood Fitch, Columbia.
Miss Frances E. Gleason, Ferguson.
Dr. F. A. Golder, Columbia.

Miss C. Grace, St. Louis.
Mr. Brady Harris, Belton.
Miss Idress Head, St. Louis.
Miss Lillian H. Heltzell, St. Louis.
Prof. B. F. Hoffman, Columbia.
Mr. J. F. Huckel, Kansas City.
Mrs. A. C. R. Janni, St. Louis.
Mr. W. S. Johnson, Tuscumbia.
Miss Clara F. Jones, St. Louis.
Miss Jennie M. A. Jones, St. Louis.
Hon. Gardiner Lathrop, Chicago, Ill.
Mr. F. W. Lehmann, St. Louis.
Mr. B. M. Little, Albay, Albay, P. I.
Miss Ethel Lowry, Columbus, Kas.
Prof. A. C. Lovejoy, Columbia.
Mrs. G. B. MacFarlane, Columbia.
Mr. L. A. Martin, Chillicothe.
Miss Josephine Norville, Chillicothe.
Miss Mary A. Owen, St. Joseph.
Miss Eva L. Packard, Excelsior Springs.
Prof. H. C. Penn, St. Louis.
Principal J. R. Powell, St. Louis.
Miss Harriet Rees, St. Louis.
Mr. G. W. Ridgeway, Kirksville.
Mr. F. A. Sampson, Columbia.
Miss Emma G. Simmons, Madison, Wis.
Miss Mary C. Smith, St. Louis.
Mr. Douglas Stewart, Chillicothe.
Mr. D. W. Swiggett, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Miss Antoinette Taylor, St. Louis County.
Judge John L. Thomas, Washington, D. C.
Miss Calla Varner, Maryville.
Professor Jonas Viles, Columbia.
Prof. E.M. Violette, Kirksville.
Miss Mary A. Wadsworth, Columbia.
Miss Lois Welty, Oregon.
Mrs. C. E. Whitney, Kansas City.

Mrs. M. S. Wildman, Columbia.
Mr. C. H. Williams, Ithaca, N. Y.
Miss Maude Williams, Warrensburg.
Mrs. A. C. Woods, Chicago, Ill.

Please notify the Secretary of any errors or omissions.

NOTES.

A History of Masonic College was prepared by Mr. E. N. Hopkins, of Lexington, and published in Petals, the year book of Central College, Lexington, for 1908.

Mr. Wood's paper on the Settlement of Columbia, in the April number of the Review states that it was not known from what county Daniel Orear came. Mrs. Alice O. Macfarlane supplies this information. Daniel Orear was her grandfather, who came from Montgomery county, Kentucky, in 1838 with his sons Robert, John, Allen, William, Tandy and Samuel, and also three daughters.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Society held its second annual summer meeting in St. Louis, June 17, 18 and 19. The society was organized in Lincoln, Nebraska, November, 1907, when Francis A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, was elected president, and C. S. Paine, of the Nebraska Society, was elected Secretary, which position he still holds. The membership has reached 300, the members living in thirty-five states and Canada.

The second meeting was held at Lake Minnetonka during the summer of 1908, and during the same year the winter meeting was held in connection with the American Historical Association at Richmond, Virginia. The next meeting with that Association will be at New York during the holidays and the third summer meeting will probably be at Iowa City, Iowa.

The program at St. Louis was an interesting one, including

papers from three members of the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, Hon. E. M. Pollard, formerly member of Congress from Nebraska, Prof. C. F. Marbut, of the University of Missouri, Prof. E. A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, Prof. Benj. F. Shambaugh, of the Historical Society of Iowa, John H. Reynolds, of the Arkansas Historical Commission, Wm. A. Meese, of Moline, Illinois, F. A. Sampson, of the State Historical Society of Missouri and others.

In connection with the meetings there was a banquet at the Planters, an automobile ride to University City, Washington University and St. Louis University, and a trip to the Kahokia or Monk's Mound in Illinois.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise Its Origin and Authorship. By P. Orman Ray, Ph. D. Pennsylvania State College. Cleveland, 1909.

In the Review for October, 1907, a paper by the above author was printed on "The retirement of Thomas H. Benton from the Senate and its Significance." This was a condensation of two chapters in the above work, since published.

In the Bibliography seven newspapers of 1849 to 1854 are given, and the statement is made that newspapers have been an invaluable source in the preparation of this book. The Missouri newspapers and the Washington correspondence of the great eastern papers have been of most value.

Phi Beta Kappa Catalogue of the Alpha of Missouri 1901-1909... Columbia, 1909.

This contains a sketch of the history of this honor society, constitution and by-laws of the United Chapters, and of the Missouri Alpha, and a list of the members of the latter, each with a short biographical sketch. While the chapter is only eight years old it has been so liberal with its election to honor-

ary membership that it has made more than a half dozen other chapters have made in fifty years.

The publication is a creditable one of 111 pages, and is bound in art vellum.

The origin of the Werewolf Superstition, by Caroline Taylor Stewart, A. M., Ph. D. Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, 1909.

This interesting paper by Dr. Stewart, which was read at the annual meeting of the Missouri Folk Lore Society, is now issued as one of the University studies.

Story of the Grand River Country, 1821-1905, Memoirs of Maj. Joseph H. McGee. (By Rollin J. Britton, pseud Guy Blue.) Gallatin, Mo., n. d.

This is a valuable contribution to the local history of Gallatin and Daviess county to the Mormon war in Missouri, in the civil war in the above county, and to the biography of the old citizens of Missouri. It is by an attorney living at Gallatin, who under the pseudonym of Guy Blue, has published several other works that are in the Society library. If some one in each county in the state would preserve local historical and biographical facts in a similar way it would make a great addition to the history of the state.

Short Stories and Poems by American authors. New York, Cochrane Pub. Co., 1909.

A pleasing sketch or story, and five poems are by a Missouri authoress, Grace Hewitt Sharp.

Vaccine and Serum Therapy including also a study of infections, theories of immunity, opsonins and the opsonic index. By Edwin Henry Schrorer, M. D. St. Louis, C. V. Mosby Co., 1909.

The author is Assistant Professor of Parasitology and Hygiene in the University of Missouri, and was formerly in the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The book is a well printed one of 131 pages.

NECROLOGY.

Hon. Hugh Robb Brasfield, a member of the House from Putnam county in the last session of the Missouri General Assembly died in a hospital in Kansas City, June 6, 1909. For years he had suffered from stomach troubles, and these with overwork in the session of the Legislature caused his death. He was born in Putnam county, Missouri, September 17, 1855, and had lived in that county all his life. In the 44th General Assembly he was in the minority party in the House, but in the 45th General Assembly he was of the majority, and held positions in the committees on railroads and on appropriations, and was an active, efficient worker on both committees.

Ex-Governor Thomas T. Crittenden, a member of this Society, died at Kansas City May 29, 1909, following a stroke of apoplexy two days before. He was born January 22, 1832, in Shelby county, Kentucky, nephew of John J. Crittenden, governor of and Senator from Kentucky. He graduated from Center College, Danville, Kentucky, in 1855, and was admitted to the bar in 1856. In 1857 he came to Missouri, and settled at Lexington. When the civil war came on he actively espoused the Union side and was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 7th Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, with John F. Philips, now judge of the United States Court at Kansas City, as colonel. He was mustered out of service April 7, 1865, and resumed the practice of law at Warransburg, with Gen. F. M. Cockrell, since United States Senator, as partner. In 1864 he was appointed Attorney General to fill the unexpired term of Aikman Welch. In 1872 and 1876 he was elected to the forty-third and forty-fifth congresses, and in 1880 was elected on the Democratic ticket as Governor of the State for a four years term. While Governor he succeeded in breaking up the James gang, by offering a reward for them dead or alive, following which Jesse

James was killed by Bob Ford. During the second administration of President Cleveland, he was Consul General to Mexico, and after his return made his home in Kansas City.

Robert P. Curran, the last survivor of Captain Edward Florey's Company, that went from Chariton county, Missouri, under command of Col. Richard Gentry to the Seminole war in 1837, died April 6, 1909, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. J. T. Coleman, near Keytesville, Missouri, in the 90th year of his age.

Hon. James G. Donnell, who was a member of the thirty-third and thirty-sixth General Assemblies from Madison county, died in St. Louis, May 19, 1909, at the age of 70 years. For the last seventeen years he was an inspector in the office of the Surveyor of Customs in St. Louis. During the civil war he was a drillmaster in the Confederate army. He was a member of the Masonic lodge at Fredericktown and was buried at that place under Masonic auspices.

Henry Lick, founder of the Purcell Press, died at his home near Neosho, Missouri, April 23, 1909, aged 72 years. He was a printer and publisher in Missouri before the Civil War. During the war he established a paper at Kansas City, and in 1870 started the "Southwest" at North Springfield, and some years afterward published a paper at Peirce City. In 1889 he went to California but after his plant there was destroyed by the earthquake he returned to Missouri and three years ago established the Purcell Press, which he sold about six months later.

Will Ward Mitchell, author, poet and editor, is believed to have committed suicide, his decomposed body having been found in the Blue river at Blue Mills the first part of April, having been there probably three months. Some years ago he was editor of the Jeffersonian, at Higginsville, but suffered a nervous break down from overwork. Mr. Mitchell published seven books and booklets of poetry, of which the Historical Society has five. He was 38 years old.

Judge Henry M. Ramsey for twelve years on the circuit court bench at St. Joseph, and at one time candidate for Supreme Court judge, died at the age of 60 years.

Hon. James Roach, representative from the Western District of Jasper county in the 45th General Assembly of Missouri, died at Jefferson City, of typhoid fever, May 16, 1909. He was born near Milwaukee, Wisconsin, November 14, 1857, and spent some years of his early life in Neosho county, Kas., but about all of his manhood life was spent in Jasper county. He was elected to the legislature as a Republican in 1904, and re-elected in 1906 and 1908.

Hon. James Josiah Shaw was born in Christian county, Kentucky, November 18, 1879, and when an infant his parents moved to Dade county, Missouri. He enlisted in the Union army August 16, 1861, and served during the entire period of the Civil War in the 6th and 15th Missouri cavalry. In 1904 he was elected a member of the House of the 43rd General Assembly. He died at his home in Dade county, and was buried at Greenfield, May 2, 1909.

Hon. Eugene W. Stark was born in Pike county, Missouri, August 8, 1865, where he grew up on his father's farm. He received his education in the public schools of Louisiana and the college at Le Grange. At an early age he acquired an interest in the Stark Nursery and Orchard Company of Louisiana, a $1,000,000 corporation, one of the largest of its kind.

He was elected judge of the county court of Pike county, and in 1908 was elected Senator to the 45th General Assembly from Pike, Lincoln and Audrain counties. Although suffering from gall stones and Bright's disease he was a hard worker in the Legislature and served on several committees. He was operated upon at a hospital in St. Louis, and died June 15, 1909.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

OFFICERS.

E. VIOLETTE, Kirksville, President.
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THE MEETING AT COLUMBIA, MAY 1.

The regular spring meeting of the Society was held at Columbia on Saturday, May 1st. There were two sessions of which the most interesting was that held in the morning from ten to twelve. A good attendance of members and visitors listened to two excellent papers on the teaching of history. The first paper was that of Professor E. M. Violette of the Kirksville Normal on "Setting the Problem," an interesting and forceful discussion of teaching methods which we hope to publish in the next number of the Review; the other paper by Professor Charles A. Ellwood, of the Department of Sociology in the University of Missouri, on the question of "How History Can Be Taught from a Sociological Point of View," is published in this number of the Review. These papers were discussed at brief length by various members of the Society and a profitable morning was spent. At the afternoon session an interesting research paper on "The Swedish Settlement in Delaware" was read by Mr. H. A. Trexler of Hardin College, Mexico, Mo., and reports were made from the Committees on History in Secondary Schools, represented by Professor Violette, and on History in Elementary Schools, represented by Professor Lewis of the Maryville Normal. The annual election of officers resulted as is indicated at the head of this section of the Review and the Society adjourned to meet again at St.

Louis, along with the State Teachers Association, during the next Christmas vacation.

The attendance at the above meeting while not as large as might be desired was fairly representative of the state, and brought forth an interesting amount of information and discussion in regard to the teaching of history in high schools, normals and colleges of the state. The papers presented were of a helpful and stimulating character and their publication in this section of the Review will, it is hoped, bring them to the notice of many teachers who were unable to be present at the meeting.

How History Can Be Taught From a Sociological Point of View

The title of this paper is "How History **Can** be Taught from a Sociological point of View," not how history **should** be taught. I wish to disclaim at the outset, in other words, the view that any science or subject should be taught chiefly as an aid to, or as illustrative of, some other science. Each science, in a sense, exists for itself, that is, represents some relatively independent human interest, and has a right to claim that it shall be studied for its own sake. But if anyone desires to teach history so as to illustrate the principles of social and institutional development, then the question how history can be so taught legitimately arises, and it is this question that I wish to discuss.

In my opinion, I may add, it is desirable that history should in some cases be taught from the sociological point of view. This is particularly true of the history taught in the High School. The object of teaching history in the High School is usually recognized to be not the satisfaction of some abstract intellectual interest, but to train for citizenship. And an essential thing in training for citizenship is to get the social point of view. Now the social point of view is undoubtedly gotten best from studying saciety as a unity, the laws of its interdependence, functioning and development. But abstract sociology can not be introduced into high schools for many reasons. It can not, for one reason,

because psychology, the science upon which sociology immediately depends is as yet either not represented in the high school curriculum or is very inadequately taught. Again, the high school curriculum is already too overcrowded to permit the putting in of another science. Finally, it is pedagogically unsound to attempt to teach directly an abstract science of laws and principles, such as sociology is, to pupils of no greater intellectual maturity and preparation than high school pupils. Accordingly, if the laws and principles which lie at the foundation of our social life are to be studied in the high school (and it seems to me that there can be no question about the desirability of so doing), then such study must be through one of the concrete descriptive social sciences such as history. Sociological principles could be taught, it is true, through the descriptive study of present social conditions, but this has the disadvantages that it would add another subject to the curriculum, that there are no satisfactory texts on contemporary social conditions, and that there are few teachers who could present profitably such material to High School students. History, on the other hand, has certain advantages as a vehicle of sociological truths. It shows the movements of society, it exhibits institutions as in a process of growth, it gives a dymanic rather than a static view of the social life; it is already in the High School curriculum, and finally there are many teachers amply prepared on the historical side who might with a little effort get a fair preparation on the sociological side. My conclusion is, therefore, that for the present at least sociological principles can best be taught in the High School through history; and I will add that it is my conviction that courses in history generally, whether in High School or in college, would often gain in cultural value if taught from the sociological point of view.

For the sake of clearness a word must be said about the relations of history and sociology. Sciences are distinguished from each other by their problems. The problem of history, I take it to be, is "What was the social reality in the past?"—that is, past events and their connections. History is a con-

crete, descriptive science of the past of human society. The problem of sociology on the other hand is the laws or principles of the organization and evolution of society. It is an abstract, theoretical science of the social life. From this it might appear that sociology is a sort of abstract essence of history. And such it is in part, but it must be remembered that sociology also finds its material in contemporary social life, and in the customs and institutions of primitive and barbarous peoples. What is meant by "the sociological point of view" is, I trust, now clear. To teach history from the sociological point of view is to teach it so as to exhibit the laws or principles of social growth and development of social organization and functioning; in other words, so as to exhibit the factors that create human history in the objective sense.

A word must also be said about the equipment of the teacher who is to teach history from a sociological point of view. A thorough training in modern scientific history may be taken for granted, but I wish to emphasize the necessity of more than superficial training in sociology. At least two years should be spent in the study of the elements of sociology and of present sociological theory. It would be well also if to this were added some knowledge of the history of social theory, for an extensive knowledge of sociological literature can alone give a proper perspective and the balance which comes therefrom, and would often prevent the putting forward of theories which have been tried and found wanting. It is not impossible, however, for a teacher of history who has already left college or university to gain by well directed private reading a substantial equivalent of such two years' study of sociology in a university.

The first requisite for teaching history from the sociological point of view is that the history be not one-sided—that is, the history must be a broad history of all phases of a people's life, not of one phase, such as internal government and international relations. While political history is extremely important for teaching concretely the elements of political science, it is extremely deficient for illustrating those deeper

psychological and biological factors with which the sociologist is concerned. The student must be shown the domestic, the religious, the industrial, and the cultural phases of a people's social life, as well as the political; and all these must be shown to constitute a complex unity, which can not be understood except as a unity. In other words the social life of a people must be presented as a unity with all of its phases interdependent, none to be understood apart from the other. Texts that presented this view of history used to be rare, but fortunately they are becoming more common every day so that there is no longer any excuse for teaching special social history (say political history) when general social history is wanted.

Again, the view of history should be extended in time as well as "all-sided" if it is to illustrate best sociological principles. It is true that the intensive study of any epoch, no matter how brief, may be made to illustrate such principles abundantly. But in general it is true that the longer the period which it is studied the more social factors and principles are brought to light. For this reason, it is probable that the course in history best adapted to illustrate sociological principles is a course in general European History, including ancient, medieval and modern. Such a course, if dealing with the social life of European peoples upon all sides, would become practically a history of the development of western civilization, and could be made an invaluable aid to the comprehension of the factors in social evolution. A partial exception to the high valuation which the sociologist would place on such a course in general history must be made in favor of nineteenth century history. The nineteenth century was a tremendously dynamic epoch, and in some respects greater progress was made during it than during all preceding recorded history. The history of the nineteenth century, therefore, is well suited to illustrate the factors of social change, to exhibit the forces which made and remake human societies. Hence, also, American history from the earliest settlements down to the present, but particularly again in the nineteenth century, can be made

to serve splendidly to illustrate the factors in social development.

But the most momentous question in teaching history from a sociological point of view is, What theory of the social life shall be taught? The reply is that much can and should be done to prevent one-sided views of the social life. While the theory of society is not yet in a settled condition. both history and sociology teach that one-sided views of the social life are not justified. Yet these one-sided views prevail, both to the bane of social theory and social practice, and it must be the task of the general social sciences, history and sociology, to correct these. The most prevalent of these one-sided views of the social life today is the economic conception of social evolution, the so-called "materialistic conception of history," or, as I would prefer to call it, "economic determinism." This is the view, advocated by Karl Marx and his followers, that "the method of production of the material life determines the so-social, political and spiritual life-process in general." With this formula, his followers declare, Marx did for social evolution what Darwin did for organic evolution—reveal its essential law. Here, then, is a spurious sociology which is shouted from the housetops by the Marxian socialists of today, and even accepted by many who have no sympathy with the socialistic movement. I can not stop to criticise this economic view of social evolution except to say that scientific sociology finds no warrant for regarding economic factors as detriminative of all the rest of the social life, but finds rather that biological and psychological, not economic, elements are fundamental in the social life. And I imagine that practically all historians would say that history would have to be very much distorted in order to give such all-importance to economic factors as the Marxians claim. This is not saying, of course, that economic factors are not important in social evolution, but it is saying that history taught with a proper sociological perspective will assign to economic factors in the historical process their proper place alongside of many other factors that equally determine the social life of man.

It is the same with all the other one-sided theories of social evolution. Men like Buckle have claimed that geographical factors are determinative of all else in the social life. But geographical factors can be shown to play only a small part in determining social forms and social changes; and history taught from the sociological point of view will give them their due place without attempting to reduce the historical process to geographical terms. It is the same with the racial theories which Buckle denounced. No doubt "blood tells" in history, and racial heredity is a factor which must be taken into account in studying social occurrences. But to explain the social life of a people wholly in terms of their racial blood is a procedure without warrant in history or sociology. Ideological conceptions of history are no better than the other one-sided theories of social evolution. Hegel and some other philosophers of history have attempted to show that the historical movement has been determined by the evolution of certain leading ideas. But while ideas and beliefs have been true forces in history of which the historian and sociologist must take account, to conceive of social evolution as wholly or even dominantly an evolution of ideas is utterly to misconceive its nature. The same thing would have to be said, of course, of any attempt to interpret history dominantly in terms of religious beliefs and practices, or in terms of political forms and ideals. Finally, a word must be said about the great man theory of history, or, as I should prefer to call it, the individualistic conception of social evolution. According to this theory the social life is shaped chiefly, if not exclusively, by the achievements of a few great personalities. Perhaps on account of its detailed study of events ,and also on account of the science being burdened in the past by literary men more interested in the dramatic than in exact scientific truth, history has at times come more perilously near endorsing their view of social evolution than any other. The trouble with this view of history is that it leaves out of account the strong and deep undercurrents in a people's life which shape, not only social institutions, but even the great men themselves to whom

such great social potency is attributed. There is, no doubt, a place for the influence of individuality, personality, in social evolution, and history taught from the sociological point of view will give it its due place without disregarding the deeper forces which shape the social life of peoples. In short, history taught from the sociological point of view will give due weight to all of the factors evident in the historical process, such as geographical, racial, economic, intellectual, political, religious and personal; and thus will give a sane and balanced view of the social life as the outcome of many forces working together in a camplex process of evolution. If this can be done the one-sided views of the social life which now afflict, and often menace, society would soon disappear; and this I take to be a practical aim of both the historian and the sociologist.

In conclusion, I hope that I have showed you that sociology and history are so intimately related that the one can be taught through the other; that for the purposes of training for citizenship it is possible to teach through the medium of history sane and well-balanced views of the social life. Of course, how well this will be done in any particular instance will depend largely upon the training which the teacher has had in both history and sociology. That it is desirable that it should be done both from the point of view of culture and of citizenship seems to me beyond question.

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Note—In connection with the above paper the following books in sociology may be suggested to teachers of history for a short (say a year's) course of reading: Ross, **Foundations of Sociology** (Macmillan $1.25); Ross, **Social Psychology** (Macmillan $1.50); McDougall, Introduction to Social Psychology (London: Methuen & Co. $1.25); Giddings, **Descriptive and Historical Sociology** (Macmillan $1.75). For a two years' course of reading the following works should be added: Flint, **History of the Philosophy of History** (Scribner's $3.50); Forrest, **The Development of Western Civilization** (Univ. of Chicago Press $2.00); Sumner, **Folkways** (Ginn & Co., $2.00); Barth, **Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Sociologie** (Leipzig; Reisland, through Stehert of New York, $1.75.)

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